

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Antibusing rampage

Louisville racists step up violence

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Catarino Garza next to window struck by sniper's bullet. Garza, Socialist Workers party nominee for Congress from New York's Lower East Side, demands city officials act to halt terrorist attacks. See page 7.

Death attempt on socialist candidate

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In Brief

HAMPTON-CLARK SUIT: Testimony from four FBI agents in Chicago has revealed further facts about the government's secret war against the Black Panther party. The testimony came during the opening phase of the \$47 million suit against federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies initiated by relatives of slain Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The agents admit: the FBI arranged to have Hampton arrested outside of a TV studio to prevent him from speaking on television; the FBI's "Racial Matters Squad" sent seven to nine informers into the party in 1969; the squad carried out covert activities to block a coalition between the Panthers and Students for a Democratic Society; and members of the squad knew of J. Edgar Hoover's Cointelpro operation.

Plaintiffs in the suit charge that the December 4, 1969, police raid that ended in the assassination of Hampton and Clark was a direct result of the Cointelpro conspiracy against the Panthers. According to FBI documents, a central aim of the program was to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

The Public Broadcasting Service program "USA: People and Politics" featuring Socialist Workers presidential candidate Peter Camejo campaigning in Boston has been rescheduled for Monday, March 29, at 8:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time.

L.A. COPS ARREST VICTIM: Willie Petty, a Black socialist, was assaulted at the Greyhound bus station in Los Angeles by a semihysterical marine on February 22. While Petty was returning by bus from San Diego, a marine observed him reading the *Militant*. As they got off the bus, the marine called Petty a "dirty commie" and whopped him with an overnight bag. When Petty defended himself, cops intervened and searched Petty's belongings. Seeing socialist literature, the cops let the marine go, but hauled the victim into jail for the night. One of the excited cops called Petty "one of those mad, radical bombers."

At the next meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission, supporters of the Socialist Workers senatorial campaign of Omari Musa plan to demand that Petty's arrest record be expunged and that action be taken against the two cops.

CALIFORNIA BALLOT FIGHT CONTINUES: The California Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is demanding that a joint legislative conference committee meeting late this month be open to public testimony. The committee was created to finalize amendments for Assembly Bill 52. This bill would lower ballot requirements for independent candidates. However, CoDEL points out, the new requirements—191,000 petition signatures—would still leave California with the toughest regulations in the country.

CoDEL is suing to overturn another ballot law that forces new parties to collect 640,000 signatures. These undemocratic laws bar the Socialist Workers party and others from the ballot, stated Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in California. "The discrimination is clear," he said, "when you see that it takes Tom Hayden only 65 signatures to qualify as a Democratic senatorial candidate and 640,000 to qualify me as a socialist."

CoDEL is circulating an "Open Letter" to the legislature requesting that the committee meeting be open to testimony. For copies contact: CoDEL, Post Office Box 40445, San Francisco, California 94140.

MAY 16 'SPRING MOBE' OFFICE: The National Organization for Women has opened a "Spring MOBE" office to build the May 16 national rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois. The office is located at 5 South Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Telephone: (312) 236-4075.

250 RALLY FOR BLACK JAZZ TEACHER: The struggle to win tenure for Black jazz professor Joe Brazil continues at the University of Washington in Seattle. Sharron Bibb, staff writer for the campus *Daily*, opened a rally of 250 on February 27 by reading a protest letter to the university's president from prominent jazz artist Herbie Hancock.

Anzy Mathews, nationally known composer, arranger, and conductor, spoke at the rally, and Gabor Szabo's band performed. Other speakers included faculty members and leaders of the Black Student Union and Student Coalition Against Racism.

Official reasons for denying Brazil tenure include opposition to his unorthodox teaching methods—he brings top jazz

artists to perform and lecture in his history of jazz class. Another charge is that Brazil failed to attend personnel committee meetings. In fact, Brazil was removed from this committee after urging the music department to adopt an affirmative-action program. Brazil is suing the university for a public hearing to reconsider his tenure.

CONTINENTAL WALK: More than 150 marchers passed through Los Angeles on March 7 demanding "nuclear disarmament and social justice." They were part of a "Continental Walk" sponsored by several peace groups. About 60 of the marchers plan to make the entire trip, arriving in Washington, D.C., next October. However, in each city the demonstration passes through, local residents join in for a segment of the march.

Militant reporter Joanne Tortorici talked to marchers as they ate lunch in a Los Angeles park. A young woman who joined the walk as it started in San Francisco said she was protesting government spending for arms instead of for people's needs. Through an interpreter, a Japanese Buddhist monk repeated this concern. Gesturing to a nearby child, he said, "This is what the money should be spent on—the good of the children, not nuclear weapons."

U.S. ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CONDEMNED: One hundred twenty students attended a symposium on the U.S. role in southern Africa held March 4 at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland. The overwhelming majority of the students were Black, about half of them African students.

Speakers included Prof. Thomas Quaynar, an instructor of political science at MSU; Prof. Jesse McDade, of the MSU philosophy department; Nan Bailey, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance; Sitawi Jahi of the Maryland Black Assembly; and a representative of Eritreans for Liberation in North America.

After the presentations there was a discussion on the role of the Soviet Union in Angola, prompted by the remarks of Sitawi Jahi, who called the Soviets "a new imperialist power manipulating Blacks in Angola."

Quaynar responded that the U.S. government has a new formula: "anticolonialist struggle plus Russian aid equals communism."

Bailey agreed, saying, "Our anger should be directed at South Africa and the United States, which are backing the oppression of the Angolan people."

—Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

Will the ERA be ratified in 1976? Thousands of women's rights supporters are preparing to march on Springfield, Illinois, on May 16 to demand their rights now. The *Militant* will keep you informed of May 16 plans and other activities and discussions in the women's movement.

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March on Boston!

April 24: 'You got to take sides'

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—"I want people to come to Boston from all across the country on April 24 to show that we won't surrender to the kind of racist attacks that have been going on here," Ruth Batson said.

Batson, a leader of the Boston Black community and a veteran of thirty years of fighting for equal rights, is a strong supporter of the upcoming national probusing action on April 24.

The march on Boston has been called by leaders of the Black community here, and is being backed by

To order publicity materials, make a contribution, or find out more information, contact the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston at its new location: 1530A Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02120. Telephone (617) 288-6200.

prominent Black and white supporters of desegregation in Boston and around the country.

Ruth Batson sees the demonstration as part of a drive to "do everything possible to turn the tide, to leave no method untried to stop the racist offensive."

Batson is director of the Public School Crisis Intervention Teams and cochairperson of the Coordinated Social Services Council, a community coalition of forty member agencies working for desegregation.

"There is a terrible crisis in this city, a void," she told the *Militant*. "It seems the only people you hear from are those who support racism."

April 24, she hopes, will begin to put a stop to that. "We have to end this idea of 'not taking sides,' which has been very detrimental to the struggle. People have to take sides. Everyone needs to know there are people in Boston who support justice. We need that spirit revived, that old abolitionist spirit that Boston used to have. And we need people from across the country to help."

Mary Goode, chairperson of the Massachusetts State Legislative Black Caucus, sees April 24 as a national show of support "for the schoolchildren of Boston, all the schoolchildren, who are suffering because of the interruptions caused by those who don't obey the court order."

She was "alarmed" by the March 9

vote by the state house of representatives for a constitutional amendment against busing to achieve desegregation.

Such attacks on "the rights of people" have to be opposed, she told the *Militant*. Boston, Goode said, is not alone in the desegregation crisis. "It's a national problem," she said. "Just look at Louisville."

Robert F. Williams fought in the first round of civil rights battles in the South years ago. As the president of the Monroe, North Carolina, NAACP he was framed up for organizing Black community self-defense in 1961 and forced to flee the country.

"Boston is the new symbol of the bigots' assault, just as Montgomery was years ago," Williams told the *Militant*.

"Boston is the new battle cry for white supremacy," he said. "The few gains we have won in the past twenty years are being assaulted and taken away. Even when battles are won, there must be struggle to preserve the gains. Now, we need a national response to the racist objectives of the antibusing movement."

April 24 is such a day of response, he said, where "decent people can show their opposition to the racists and show that all Americans are not racists and will not sit idly by while our rights are under attack."

"Mass actions are essential to struggle," he said. "They can teach by calling on people to mobilize around important issues."

Williams emphasized the need for actions. "Tyranny never ceases on its own," the longtime fighter for Black rights said. "It must be brought to its knees, and every effort must be used. That's why April 24 is important."

Mary Peabody, a prominent Bostonian, was in her seventies when she was arrested in 1965 for protesting Jim Crow segregation in St. Augustine, Florida, making national headlines and causing her son, a former governor of Massachusetts, to blush. She is still active in support of Black rights and enthusiastically backs the April 24 antiracist action.

"We were asked to come to the South back then," she said. "Now I think it's high time people came to Boston to help us stand up."

A national action is needed here, she said, "because the idea of desegregation is challenged here as much as anywhere. Boston is one of the worst places for racism."

And Boston is where the civil rights movement, Peabody said, "has unfinished business to complete."

Robert Allen, the editor of *Black Scholar* magazine, works in California, but for him Boston is an immediate issue. "There is a racist offensive

Black Caucus leaders back demonstration

BOSTON—Rep. Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.), chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, has thrown her support behind the march on Boston, the Coalition for the April 24 March announced here.

Burke has been joined by CBC members Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), Charles Diggs (D-Mich.), Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), and Andrew Young (D-Ga.) in urging a big turnout for the demonstration.

Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond has also extended backing to the planned action.

Among other new endorsers of the event are: Ellen Jackson, director, Freedom House Institute on Schools and Education in Boston; Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Unitarian Universalist Service Committee; actor Ossie Davis; and Sylvia Hill, chairperson, National Black Coalition on U.S. Intervention in Southern Africa.

Support from Black student leaders is also growing. In Boston alone, the demonstration has won support from presidents of Black student organizations at Boston State College, Boston College, Simmons College, Emmanuel College, Wheelock College, Boston University, Roxbury Community College, Suffolk University, and Hyde Park High School.

Black teachers in the Boston public school system are also becoming involved, many for the first time, in building the antiracist rally. Rick Murphy, president of the Black Caucus of the Boston Teachers Union, and James Phillip, vice-president of the caucus, are active supporters of the action.

Other labor support, especially important in light of the antibusing march in Washington, D.C., planned by ROAR and "Union Labor Against Busing" in Louisville, is also mounting. New union support has come from: Jocelyn Williams, director, Council of Federal Employees, American Federation



Yvonne Burke, chairperson of Congressional Black Caucus, has endorsed Boston march.

of State, County and Municipal Employees, Washington, D.C.; Harding Bond, president, Local 248, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Cleveland; and Timothy Tynes, president, Local 801, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, Boston.

Also, Geraldine Roberts, president, Domestic Workers of America; Leon Harris, national education director, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers; and the St. Louis chapter of the National Association of Black Social Workers.

A number of leaders in the fight for women's rights have also pledged support to the action. They include: Gloria Steinem; Betty Friedan; Kay Camp, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Nada Chandler, president of the Philadelphia chapter of the National Organization for Women.

under way, trying to develop a national antibusing campaign," he told the *Militant*.

This anti-Black drive must be answered "by a show of mass support for desegregation. We must present a strong force to demand desegregation

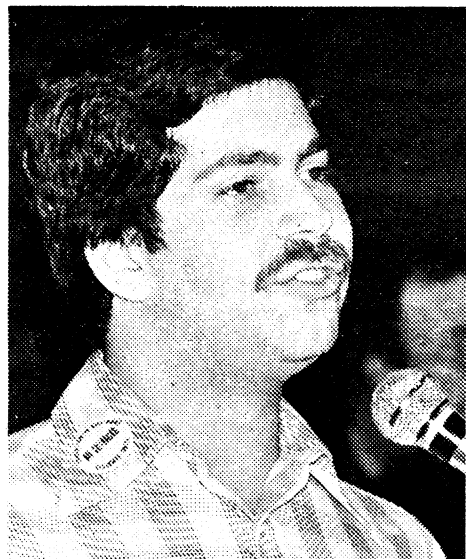
be continued, to show the government there are masses of people who will not tolerate a retreat on desegregation."

Such a mobilization of sentiment could compel "the government to protect the lives of Black community

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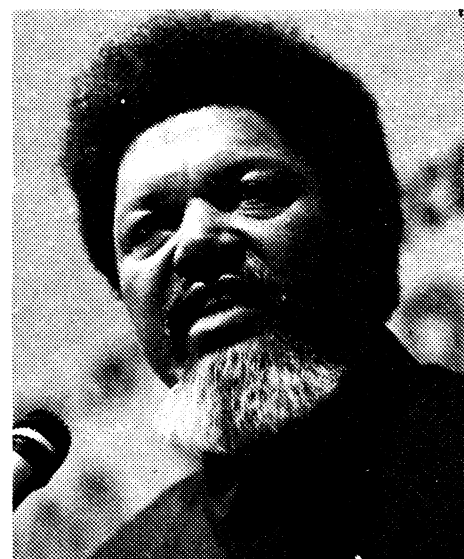
Militant/Larry Seigle
RUTH BATSON: 'We won't surrender to racists.'



Militant/Jon Flanders
MICHAEL PONAMAN: 'April 24 can help launch movement against racism.'



Militant/Betsy Waldheim
REXFORD WENG: 'Antibusing groups don't speak for labor.'



Militant/Lou Howort
ROBERT F. WILLIAMS: 'Mass actions are essential to our struggle.'

...wide support for April 24 march

Continued from preceding page

residents and Black students who are under violent, physical attacks organized by the racists."

April 24 is "imperative," Allen said, "especially in an election year, when the candidates of the two parties cater to racist hysteria."

"We can't rely on the Democrats," Allen said. "Mass actions have to be independent. The segregationists confuse the public on busing, trying to cover up their racism. There is no Democrat speaking out for busing. They are out seeking the votes of the racists."

Rev. Vernon Carter, the Black minister of All Saints Lutheran Church in Boston's South End, has been active in the desegregation fight here from the beginning. He supports April 24, and he shares Robert Allen's distrust of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

A big turnout for the April 24 action will affect the candidates, who, Carter said, "find their glory in seeking antibusing voters. This action could do something to them," he said.

Rexford Weng, a vice-president of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, is a Black unionist who works in a meat-packing house and serves as his local's vice-president.

He is going to march on April 24, and is trying to win co-workers to join him.

"High unemployment and the economic crisis mean the labor movement has to be united," Weng told the *Militant*. "Now we've got this antibusing stuff, which is all just a bunch of racism, in the union movement. Racism is a weapon to bring about division, and racism is splitting the labor movement," he said.

"We need to point that out on April 24, and we have to educate people about that," he said. "We need an

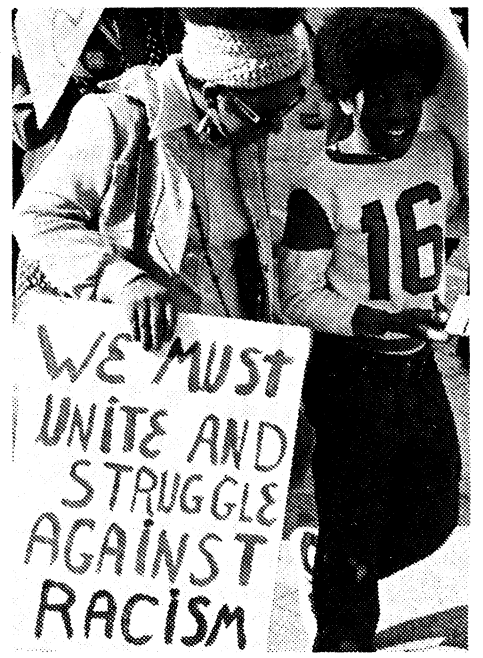
educational movement, that's why I believe in the march."

April 24 is the date of another action as well. On that day ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the Boston-based racist organization, and Louisville's "Union Labor Against Busing" will be marching on Washington to push for a constitutional amendment against busing.

These racist forces "must be answered," Weng said. "They don't speak for the union movement. There are a lot of labor people who are against racism who have been quiet, like they're in hiding. I hope this march, April 24 in Boston, gets them out of the closet."

Michael Ponaman is a widely known student leader in Boston, the cochairperson of the University Assembly at the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

A central leader of the fight during last year's wave of protests against



Militant/Miguel Pendas

cutbacks, he was elected a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism at the organization's October 1975 conference. NSCAR is organizing student support in Boston and nationally for the April 24 march.

"The student movement was the backbone of the civil rights struggle in the 1950s and 1960s and provided the troops for the big protests against the government's war policies in Vietnam," Ponaman said.

April 24 is, he said, "the chance to launch a movement against the racists in their home base, where they are strongest, and where we can meet them head on and beat them."

Ponaman says student support for April 24 is building from coast to coast. "We've got important pledges of time and activity coming in to Boston from every area of the country."

One thing unites all these prodesegregation activists, young and old, Black and white, from Boston and around the country, veterans of decades of struggle and newly active fighters: they are building support for a most important day of action for all defenders of Black rights and busing.

And if there was one common request from them all, it was, "Join us in Boston on April 24!"

SEIU local: 'We'll be there'

[The following resolution was adopted by the executive council of Local 79, Service Employees International Union, in Detroit.]

Whereas school busing to achieve desegregation of the schools has come under attack by bigots from all walks of life, from political leaders and even from some who claim to represent labor, and

Whereas these same bigots are organizing a march on Washington, D.C., April 24 to support legislation that would outlaw school busing for the purposes of school desegregation, and

Whereas the racist opposition to school busing in Boston has resulted in general lawlessness and violence directed against the Black schoolchildren and the Boston Black community as a whole, and

Whereas the last convention of

the AFL-CIO reaffirmed the longstanding policy of labor in support of busing to achieve school desegregation and equal education when ordered by the courts, and

Whereas George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has noted that the forces opposed to school busing are infiltrated by if not led by the likes of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Nazi party, and other right-wing extremists who are as antilabor as they are anti-Black, and

Whereas leaders of Boston's Black community and labor movement along with Black and labor leaders from throughout the country have called on all supporters of Black equality to participate in a peaceful, legal protest march and rally in Boston April 24 to demonstrate support for the embattled Black community of that city and to counter peacefully the antibusing rally in Washington, D.C., called for

that same day,

Therefore be it resolved that Local 79 Service Employees International Union give wholehearted support to this protest and add our name to the list of endorsers of the demonstration,

And be it further resolved that Local 79 SEIU establish a committee on school desegregation to help educate our membership to the importance of the fight to desegregate the schools and to organize our participation in this protest,

And be it further resolved that Local 79 SEIU encourage the union movement as a whole in Detroit and the metropolitan area to adopt a similar attitude to this crucial issue confronting both labor and the Black people in this country, longtime allies in the fight for human justice and social and economic equality.

ROAR's split: a falling out of thieves

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—A split that has been brewing for months between rival factions of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) is now out in the open. ROAR is the chief antibusing organization in Boston.

On one side of the dispute is city council President Louise Day Hicks, ROAR's president. On the other is Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, the East Boston antibusing leader who was recently elected to the school committee. Both are Democrats.

The schism became public on February 25, when Hicks testified before Congress in support of a bill sponsored by Sen. Henry Jackson to grant \$15 million to "desegregation-impacted cities." Boston would receive \$10 million under the plan.

Hicks is reportedly supporting Jackson's presidential bid. When Jackson campaigned here during the Massachusetts primary, he openly appealed for the racist vote, running newspaper ads proclaiming in banner headlines, "I am against busing."

Jackson's "impacted cities" aid bill is merely a public relations ploy, part of his presidential campaign.

Prior to Hicks's trip to Washington to testify for the bill, however, the Boston ROAR chapter voted against support to the measure. Leading the

opposition was Palladino, who charged that the Jackson bill would be a concession to desegregation and would undercut the racists' campaign to pin the blame for the city school financial crisis on the supposed high cost of desegregation.

Palladino is a vocal supporter of George Wallace.

When Hicks returned to Boston, the dispute flared into the open. Palladino



HICKS: A fight over patronage & presidential politics.

was purged from the ROAR executive board under the pretext of a "policy" not to have elected officials sit on the body. Hicks, an elected official, rules ROAR from her office as president, but does not formally sit on the executive board.

Leaders and members of Hyde Park and suburban Dedham ROAR, who supported Palladino, were kicked out of the organization. They were also warned that the South Boston Marshals Association, loyal to Hicks, would keep them out of the meeting of ROAR March 3 in the city council chambers.

Palladino responded by calling for the abolition of the executive board. She set up her own meeting in city hall on March 10, after the Hicks wing stated that the regular ROAR gatherings in the city council meeting room were being phased out.

Palladino has lined up such old-time segregationist politicians as city council members John Kerrigan and Albert "Dapper" O'Neill, who share her enthusiasm for Wallace.

Hicks retains her tight connections with Boston Mayor Kevin White.

Supporters of desegregation should understand that in this falling-out of racist thieves, there is no fundamental philosophic disagreement.

The local news media are having a

field day with the split, portraying Palladino as the "extremist" and Hicks as the "moderate."

But both are outspoken advocates of "white rights" and fierce opponents of busing. They are fighting over how to enhance their power in the Democratic party and over how to most effectively sabotage the court desegregation order.

What's more, both sides are in agreement on the need to use violence and "disruption" to accomplish their objectives.

Squabbles over patronage and intra-Democratic-party feuding play more of a role than "ideology" in the racists' gutter battle.

Nonetheless, the split does signify that the racist movement is not the solid front it claims to be. Its sharpening clashes will hamper its ability to mobilize.

On April 24, demonstrators organized by ROAR and its "trade union" allies in Louisville, Kentucky, will march on Washington to demand a constitutional amendment against busing—the Jim Crow amendment.

On that same day, prodesegregation forces from around the country will take to the streets of Boston to defend busing and Black rights.

That antiracist action will be a fitting response to whichever gang of bigots winds up in control of ROAR.

Black students threatened

Antibusing offensive growing in Louisville

By Rick Berman

LOUISVILLE—Racist attacks against Blacks in Louisville have been escalating in recent weeks, as reactionary forces expand their efforts to overturn court-ordered busing in Jefferson County.

Early in the morning of March 8, racists vandalized twenty-one school buses parked in a fenced, guarded parking area. Windows of the buses were shot out, air hoses cut, and tires slashed.

School officials, stating that they didn't have enough spare buses to replace those put out of service, canceled some of the day's bus runs.

There have been no arrests.

Black students have also been facing stepped-up violence and harassment inside the schools. The month of February saw the highest number of school suspensions since the busing plan went into effect last September. In the first two months of this year, 52

percent of those suspended have been Black, although Blacks make up only 23 percent of the total enrollment.

On February 17, 150 white students walked out of Durrett High School. Most of the students refused to go back to class even when threatened with suspension. They stood around taunting Black students with chants of "nigger."

The Louisville *Defender*, a Black weekly, interviewed Black students at Durrett and found that this racist protest was only the "tip of an iceberg."

Roy Hill, fifteen, "said the racial tension has been intensifying at the school since it desegregated mainly because whites don't want blacks there," wrote Jason Williams in the March 4 *Defender*. "He said he has heard rumors throughout that some white students feel that the 300 blacks at Durrett are trying to 'take over the school' from the approximately 2,000 white students at the school."

"Other students like Denise Ben, 17, have said white teachers and students alike have told them that Durrett has been a 'white' school for 21 years and they will not let the school change its philosophies just because blacks go there now."

The school administration has shown little concern for the problems Black students face. The *Defender* reported that Durrett Principal James Smith, responding to Black students' complaints about lack of representation on the student council, "said that schools can instill a lot of false illusions in black youth by letting them have certain allowances while they are in the schools and then releasing them into a world where such allowances do not exist."

Recent actions by the state legislature have helped to maintain an atmosphere favorable to the racists. The legislature is discussing no fewer than eight antibusing measures. Five of these have been adopted by either the state senate or the house.

The senate has approved a bill to prohibit the use of public funds for the purchase of buses to transport students beyond their nearest school. The house has approved a measure that would give parents the right to choose which



Racists recently vandalized twenty-one school buses. Above, aftermath of similar assault last fall.

school their children attend in a particular school district, effectively blocking any court-ordered desegregation plan.

The senate also recently passed a bill that would legalize one of the racists' main weapons: the school boycott. Senate Bill 139 would exempt students from state truancy laws if they were being bused beyond their "neighborhood" school.

In another local development, police discovered an arms cache in the home of an antibusing leader, Rev. Lowell Hughes. The reverend, who is president of the segregationist group Parents for Freedom, had two large-caliber machine guns, a bazooka-type grenade launcher, and an antitank missile launcher.

Hughes earlier told reporters that he had organized the Christian Posse Comitatus of Jefferson County. He said his group was being formed so that whites could "fight to a standoff" in a guerrilla war he believed had begun and would be in full swing in two or three years.

Officials of the federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau said Hughes's arsenal was "properly registered" and the weapons will be returned to him.

The Posse Comitatus and the Ku Klux Klan aren't the only right-wing

outfits active here. Racists here have been circulating a publication called *NAPF*, which claims to be the "official publication of the National Organization to Restore and Preserve our Freedom."

The February 20 issue of *NAPF* hailed the February 15 antibusing riot in South Boston, where 1,000 toughs battled with cops. "Years from now, they'll tell the tale, like the first shots fired in the Revolutionary War," the paper said. "The battle to remain free from the fangs of judicial tyranny, will one day take it's [sic] place in our history books."

In addition to its antibusing, anti-Black stand, this rag is full of articles attacking the Equal Rights Amendment and the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion.

Its February 20 edition also published an open letter from Jack Shore, chairman of the so-called Union Labor Against Busing, calling for support to the planned April 24 antibusing demonstration in Washington, D.C., initiated by Boston ROAR.

The racists in this city are looking to Boston for inspiration and encouragement.

A big national mobilization in Boston on April 24 by antiracist forces would be a blow to the racists not only in Boston but here in Louisville and around the country.

Slavery debated

The Kentucky state legislature, which is busy considering a spate of antibusing bills, has still not ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment, adopted in 1865, abolished slavery. The Fourteenth, approved three years later, guaranteed due process and equal protection of the laws to all citizens. And the Fifteenth, ratified in 1870, said no person could be denied the right to vote because of race.

Although a Kentucky House committee has now recommended ratification of the three amendments, there is some opposition.

Said Rep. G.W. Vincent, "I still have a little respect and honor for the legislature of that day," that is, the one that originally rejected ratification.

Of the proposed belated recognition that Blacks are entitled to equal rights, Vincent said, "I just don't think it's necessary."

Racists dynamite Black home; Klan burns cross

By Mary Zins

LOUISVILLE—A dynamite blast shattered windows in the home of a Black family here March 2. It was the latest and most serious incident of violence aimed at the Coleman family, who last fall moved into the predominantly white neighborhood of Okolona in the southern part of Jefferson County.

The Colemans and their four children were at home but fortunately escaped injury. The potentially lethal explosion left a large hole in their concrete driveway.

Okolona has been the scene of large-scale antibusing activity. Four days after the dynamiting, the Ku Klux Klan held a cross-burning rally on a farm only a few blocks from the Colemans' home.

Last September, just after the opening of school in Jefferson County, racists hurled a brick through a window in the Coleman house. The Colemans' two sons, who were asleep, were showered with broken glass.

A note tied to the brick read, "Niggers, go back where you came from—Africa! Get out of Jefferson County, we

don't want your trouble. Signed, Nigger haters."

That same night, Alfis Coleman



Alfis Coleman points to hole left in his front yard by dynamite explosion.

found an unexploded molotov cocktail in his back yard.

Soon after, the family began receiving telephone calls threatening the family if they did not leave Okolona and go back to the west end "with the rest of the niggers."

A few weeks later another brick was hurled into the house.

On November 16, several cars pulled up in front of the house. Shotgun blasts were fired into the fence, and .32-caliber bullets were fired into the family's car.

No one has been arrested for any of these attacks.

Jefferson County Police Chief Russell McDaniel says he doesn't have enough "evidence" to crack the case, and lacks sufficient manpower to protect the Colemans. "I wish I had enough police officers on the force to keep an officer at the Coleman home all the time but I don't," he said.

He might just as well have issued the Klan a written permit to continue their armed raids.

Alfis Coleman has repeatedly demanded twenty-four-hour protection for his family. But a county police sergeant told him that if he was given

twenty-four-hour protection then everybody else would want the same thing.

"What he was really saying to me was that white people would get mad if they gave a black man too much protection," Coleman told the Louisville *Defender*.

Coleman, who is unemployed, said he can't afford to move, and wouldn't move even if he could afford to.

"I can't help wondering if the people doing this to me are organized or what," he said. "It seems like they would have been caught after the first or second time they did this to me. I never thought they would still be loose after the fourth time like it is now."

Members of both the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference and of Progress In Education, a probusing organization, have been standing vigil at the Coleman home.

"We want the Klan to know that Black people are here to stay and the Colemans have as much right to live in Okolona as anybody else," said Rev. Charles Kirby, president of the Kentucky SCLC chapter.

In the meantime, the police chief says the cops might make an arrest in a couple of weeks or so. Maybe.

Set rally to back Queens school desegregation

By Michael Lux

NEW YORK—The executive board of the Parents Association at Andrew Jackson High School has announced plans for an April 4 rally to support school desegregation in Queens. The rally, on the eighth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., will be held in the school's auditorium.

The announcement was made at a news conference here on March 12 by Jerome McFarland, president of the Parents Association, and was enthusiastically endorsed by student and community leaders.

Among those supporting the rally are: Kevin Matthews, student body president of Andrew Jackson High; city council member Archie Spigner; Rev. J.B. Watts; and Robert Simons, education director of United Black Men of Queens.

Also, Charles Isaacs, of People Against Racism in Education; Catherine Sedwick, of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism; and Keith Jones, Socialist Workers party congressional candidate in Queens's Seventh Congressional District.

In December 1975, State Education



Militant/Susie Winsten
Jerome McFarland, president of Parents Association at Andrew Jackson High School. Parents' group called April 4 rally to demand desegregation of school.

Commissioner Ewald Nyquist ordered the city board of education to desegregate Andrew Jackson. The school is 96 percent Black and 3 percent Latino, although the borough of Queens is 56

percent white.

Racists in Queens have begun a campaign to pressure Nyquist into reversing his ruling. They have held rallies to protest the desegregation order, led by a local variant of ROAR, the group that has led the segregationist movement in Boston.

In the forefront of this drive have been Queens Borough President Donald Manes and city council member Matthew Troy, both prominent Democrats. They raise the myth of "white flight," complaining that whites will move out into the suburbs if school desegregation is implemented.

The central question in this situation is how to bring the quality of education at Andrew Jackson at least to the level of that in the neighboring white schools. The reading levels at Jackson are the lowest in the city, while those of the two closest high schools located in white neighborhoods are the highest in the city.

The only answer to this intolerable situation is the desegregation of Andrew Jackson. With the influx of white students will come better teachers, better facilities, and more funds.

Robert Simons from United Black

Men of Queens put it this way: "If you go to an integrated school, white parents, white teachers, and white politicians will insure quality education in that school."

In a statement to the press, Socialist Workers party candidate Keith Jones said: "Those who fight against Jackson's desegregation are aligning themselves with the same racist forces that are spreading terror among Blacks in Boston, Louisville, and other cities. We must not be intimidated by their attempts to prevent our children from getting an education equal in every respect to white students—in funding, facilities, and teachers."

Organizers of the April 4 rally see it as a step in the direction of mobilizing the power of the Black community and its allies to ensure desegregation of the schools in Queens.

They also see the connection between their struggle and the fight against the racist movement in Boston. At the news conference both Jerome McFarland, of the Parents Association, and Kevin Matthews, student body president, endorsed the April 24 national march on Boston in support of busing.

L.A. Blacks hit school board antibusing stance

By Matilde Zimmermann and Geoff Mirelowitz

LOS ANGELES—Black community leaders are seething with anger at the stab in the back inflicted by liberal members of the Los Angeles School Board who rammed through an antibusing resolution March 1.

The attack on "compulsory busing" was initiated by Kathleen Brown Rice and Howard Miller. Rice is the sister of Gov. Edmund Brown, Jr., and was elected as an opponent of segregation. Miller was recently appointed to a board vacancy with wide support from Black community leaders.

The school board voted to adopt the "no compulsory busing" resolution despite insistent demands by the most authoritative Black leaders that the resolution be defeated.

Furious community reaction to the board's antibusing action forced it to vote on March 11 to reconsider the resolution. At that meeting it adopted a weasel-worded substitute that reiterated that "voluntary" means should be used to desegregate the schools, but did not rule out a busing program if ordered by a court.

The original antibusing stand was taken in anticipation of a state supreme court ruling relating to school desegregation. The city's present "integration" program involves less than 17,000 of the total of 630,000 pupils.

The March 1 board meeting provided dramatic testimony of desegregation sentiment in the Black community. An overflow crowd of 250 listened intently to three hours of emotionally charged testimony against the antibusing proposal by some thirty Black and civil rights leaders.

"It's hard for me to express the rage that we feel about what you're doing to us," one Black minister declared.

Black city council member David Cunningham denounced the board as "insensitive" and "ignorant" of the real situation in the Black community.

Speaker after speaker pointed to the illegal character of the resolution. Manuel Barrera of the Student Coalition Against Racism declared, "The school board is issuing an open threat that it will break the law if desegregation through busing is ordered. This will give the green light to other racist law breakers."

John Caughey of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union and Rev. James Lawson of the Los Angeles NAACP accused the board of deliberately creating and maintaining school segregation over a thirty year period—"compulsory segregation," as one put it.

In response to the demagogic claim that the resolution would "calm" racial tensions, Caughey and others declared it would only inflame racist sentiment and "offer comfort to South Boston-



Militant/Harry Ring
SWP's Omari Musa blasted role of Democrats, Republicans in racist school board decision.

type opposition to desegregation."

Some of the angriest declarations at the meeting came from those who had supported Miller and Rice and now felt betrayed.

Dr. H. Claude Hudson, a leader of the NAACP, said he was "embarrassed" that he had supported Miller's appointment and accused him of having been "co-opted by the strident voices of racism and bigotry."

A statement from Omari Musa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. senator, said the lesson of the board's action is that fighters for equal education cannot rely on members of either the Democratic or the Republican party to aid this fight. He called for mass rallies and marches to win desegregation.

At a crowded news conference the day after the March 1 board meeting, an authoritative group of Black community figures continued the attack on the reactionary stand of the board.

"This resolution places the board on the side of those racists and bigots opposed to equal education," declared Rev. G. Garnett Henning, head of the Community Task Force for Better Education.

"Once again," he continued, "minority communities have been told where their place is in the education system. We will simply have to redouble our determination."

This was echoed by the others at the news conference, including Dr. Hudson of the NAACP, John Mack of the Urban League, city council member Cunningham, Rev. Thomas Kilgore of the Second Baptist Church and Ramona Ripston of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Their statement declared: "We believe we hear echoes of Boston. We believe the ugly head of racism is being raised."

Nazis harass S. Calif. socialists

PASADENA, Calif.—Six uniformed Nazis picketed the newly opened Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters and Pathfinder Bookstore here on March 13, chanting "White



Militant/Harry Ring
Manuel Barrera is filing charges against Nazi who struck him.

Power," "We want dead reds," and "Communism is Jewish." The Nazis picketed for about an hour, then lined up in military formation. After receiving whispered instructions from the leader of the group, they turned and marched single file past the bookstore.

Manuel Barrera, a socialist campaign supporter, was standing to the side of the picket line waiting for the Nazis to leave when one of them shoved him with his elbow. Barrera moved back, further away from the line of the Nazis. The last Nazi in line struck the socialist with his elbow and knee as he passed him, then squared off with his fists up, waiting for Barrera to respond.

The socialist refused to be provoked. The Nazis then departed.

Barrera then went to the Pasadena police and filed charges against his assailant, providing the authorities with the license-plate number of the

Nazi's car.

Police should have no problem identifying the Nazi, since they were given a picture of the attacker taken by a photographer.

This is not the first time Nazis have harassed Pasadena socialists.

On the evening of the bookstore's public opening, men later identified by the police as Nazis were seen writing down license-plate numbers of nearby cars parked there for the program.

The following night, air-gun pellets were shot through the office's front window.

The Nazi party has made Pasadena a focal point of its activity, exploiting the racism of the antibusing movement here.

Meanwhile, a protest meeting has been called for March 19 against Nazi violence, and broad community support for the meeting is being solicited by Pasadena socialists.

Garza demands gov't act

SWP candidate target of sniper

By Linda Jenness

NEW YORK, March 17—An attempt was made on the life of Catarino Garza yesterday. Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth Congressional District.

At 10:20 a.m., a sniper fired through the window of Garza's tenth-floor apartment on Manhattan's Lower East Side. The .22-caliber bullet came within a foot of hitting one of Garza's campaign supporters, Vangie Eidsvik.

"The shot was meant to kill," says Eidsvik, "and it was obviously intended for Garza."

Eidsvik had entered the dining room of Garza's apartment, opened the window blinds, and turned on the light. Within minutes the shot was fired.

"The sniper was clearly waiting for Garza to come into view," Eidsvik told the *Militant*, "and then shot at a figure they assumed was Garza. Normally Garza is the only person in this apartment in the mornings. It was just a quirk of fate that I had the day off from work and was here and Garza wasn't."

Garza had left the apartment early in the morning to go to Albany with thousands of students who were protesting city and state budget cuts.

In spite of the evidence, pointing clearly to an attempted political assassination, city police have so far

treated the shooting in an offhand manner.

In a telephone interview, the *Militant* asked Detective Butler of the Ninth Precinct, who is in charge of the case, what steps have been taken to apprehend the would-be assassin. "I'm not treating this as an assassination attempt," Butler said. When asked what other reason someone would have for shooting into the apartment of a congressional candidate, Butler said, "That happens frequently down in this area."

At a news conference today Garza denounced the police for their refusal to take action, and demanded that Mayor Abraham Beame order the use of all the resources at the city's disposal to carry out a thorough investigation and to apprehend the person or persons responsible.

"And," added Garza, "we are going to make a lot of noise—a lot of noise—until that's done."

Black and Puerto Rican leaders immediately responded to the threat on Garza's life. Joining him at the news conference to demand action by the authorities and to support his right to run for office free of harassment, violence, and terror were: Arturo Santiago, the Democratic party district leader on the Lower East Side; Yolanda Sánchez, president of the East Harlem Tenants Council; and Carmelo

Díaz, District One Community School Board member.

Also present were Dore Ashton, board member of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; David Thorstad, president of the Gay Activists Alliance; and others.

Garza is well known in the community as a fighter for Puerto Rican independence, for bilingual-bicultural education, for school busing to achieve educational equality, and for the restoration of the cuts in city services.

A statement of solidarity with Garza, signed by community activists, was released at the hastily convened news conference. Among those signing were: the presidents of the parent associations of Public School 63, P.S. 110, and Andrew Jackson High School; and the president and vice-president of the Village-Chelsea NAACP branch.

The statement said, in part: "We join with Catarino Garza and his campaign supporters in demanding that the police and other appropriate authorities move with all the necessary speed to see that the perpetrators of this assassination attempt are identified, arrested, and prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

Katherine Sojourner, Garza's campaign manager, announced plans for a protest rally to be held on Saturday, March 20.

"We had originally planned to have a campaign festival and rally that night," Sojourner told the *Militant*, "but now it must be a protest rally. Many community leaders have agreed to speak at the meeting and condemn this violence."

"This rally," continued Sojourner, "is to make it clear to Mayor Beame and other city officials that the candidates of the Socialist Workers party can not be treated like second-class citizens. You can bet your life that if a candidate of the Democratic or Republican party were shot at, the city would take it seriously and would tell the cops to do something about it."

"We're entitled to the same treatment and that's what we're demanding."

At the news conference, Garza put the blame for the political atmosphere that breeds these acts of violence

squarely on the U.S. government. "An atmosphere of intimidation and violence has been deliberately fostered by the government against socialists and others who oppose and organize against the injustices that are part of the status quo."

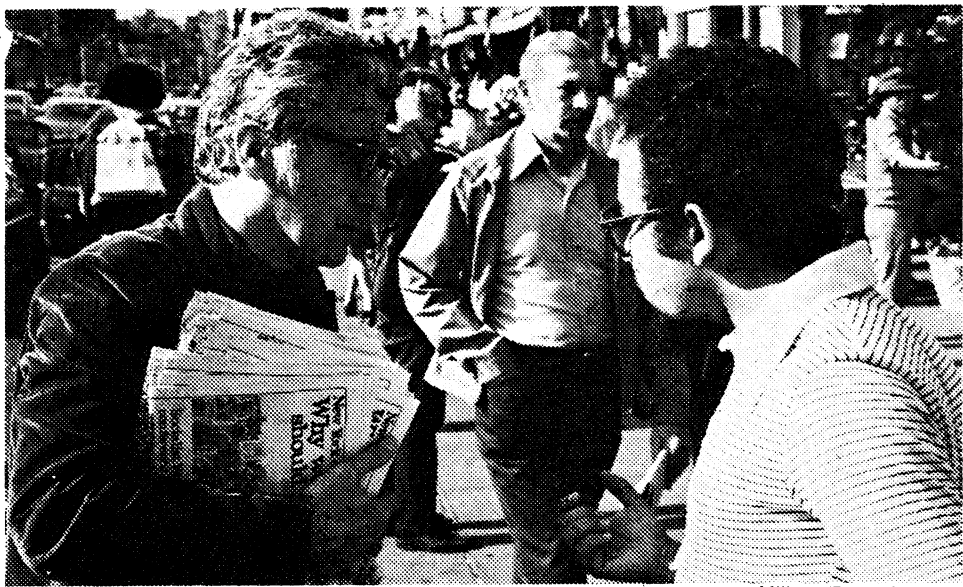
"As we know from the FBI's own files, the government has organized outright physical violence against those who challenge government policies. They have infiltrated, harassed, spied upon, and collaborated in open violence aimed at Black and Puerto Rican groups and against socialists."

"For example, in the past few

Protest rally set

A rally to protest the attempted assassination of Catarino Garza will be held March 20 at 290 East Fourth Street, between avenues B and C, in the Bracetti Houses. The rally will begin at 7:00 p.m. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

Messages of solidarity should be sent to the Catarino Garza Campaign Committee, 221 East Second Street, New York, New York 10009.



Catarino Garza (left) campaigning on New York's Lower East Side. 'We will not be intimidated by this cowardly act.'

Witness against Gary Tyler recants

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Startling new evidence has come to light in the frame-up of Gary Tyler, a seventeen-year-old Black who was convicted of murder by an all-white Louisiana jury last November 14.

The state's star witness, Natalie Blanks, says in a thirty-one-page sworn affidavit that she was forced to falsely testify against Tyler. On March 9 Tyler's new attorney, Jack Peebles, filed a motion for a new trial and released the statement by Blanks.

Tyler had been sentenced to death in the October 7, 1974, killing of Timothy Weber, a thirteen-year-old white, outside Destrehan High School. Fights between Black and white students had taken place that day. Both Tyler and Blanks were among seventy-five Black students in a bus that was being stoned by a mob of 200 white students and parents as it pulled away from the school. A shot rang out, and Timothy Weber fell dead.

At the trial, Blanks was the only witness to testify that she saw Tyler open the window, lean out, and fire a gun. Other witnesses, including bus

driver Ernest Cojoe and students seated near Tyler, testified that the shot could not even have come from inside the bus.

Blanks voluntarily contacted Gary's mother, Juanita Tyler, on February 5 and accompanied her to the law offices of Jack Peebles in New Orleans. In a tape-recorded interview that forms the basis of a sworn affidavit, Blanks explained how she had been coerced into testifying against Gary Tyler.

Blanks says she was given a statement to read at the trial and was warned that if she did not read it she would be charged with "accessory to murder and perjury."

"They wrote something down on the paper and they told me when I got on the stand to read it. You know, so I read it, and it wasn't the truth."

Blanks says that contrary to her trial testimony, she was not sitting near Tyler and did not see him fire a gun.

She now says that on the day of the shooting, she was stripped and searched by policewomen. While she was naked, two male St. Charles Parish deputies came into the room.

One of them grabbed her and shouted, "You know Gary shot him." That night, the same two deputies told Blanks to sign a paper implicating Tyler.

Later, during the grand jury proceedings and at the trial itself, Blanks states that Assistant Louisiana Attorney General L.J. Hymel and St. Charles Parish Assistant District Attorney Norman Pitre threatened her with prosecution if she were to repudiate the signed statement fingering Tyler.

In her affidavit, she recalls that they "asked me, 'How old is your baby?' and 'Do you want to be in jail? Don't you want to see your baby? Don't you want to be here to raise your baby?' ... If I didn't say what was on the paper, they were supposed to charge me with accessory to murder."

At the trial, Blanks says, a paper was thrust in front of her while she was on the witness stand, and she was told by the prosecutor to read her answers to questions from the paper: "Like, every time the [prosecutor] asked me a question, I would have to look on the paper to get the answer."

See, what was on the paper wasn't even my words. All I did was read the paper."

After her testimony, Blanks said police told her, "You did good up there."

Attorney Peebles told the *Militant* that Blanks's affidavit should be strong enough evidence for a new trial. However, the conviction is already on appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court, and the motion for a new trial cannot be heard until after the Supreme Court decision.

Meanwhile, support for Gary Tyler's defense against this miscarriage of justice continues to mount. A defense committee has been formed, involving broad forces among New Orleans civil rights activists. The student body of Southern University at New Orleans (SUNO) is planning a week of rallies and fund-raising events in support of the defense effort.

Contributions can be sent to: Gary Tyler Fund, c/o Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird, Destrehan, Louisiana 70087. Letters of support may be sent to Gary Tyler, Death Row C-127, Angola, Louisiana 70712.

Zimbabwean resistance grows

White minority rulers step up war drive

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

The white supremacist regime ruling Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has publicly acknowledged that it is facing growing resistance from the Zimbabwean freedom fighters. On March 9, Edward Sutton-Pryce, a deputy minister in the office of Prime Minister Ian Smith, announced that since late January guerrilla forces have extended their activities along the entire length of the 800-mile border with Mozambique.

He estimated the number of Black guerrillas within the country at 1,000, most of whom are in the northeastern region. Thousands of other guerrillas are reported to be based across the border in Mozambique, either undergoing training or ready to engage in action.

While seeking to downplay the seriousness of the situation in eastern Zimbabwe for the white regime, Sutton-Pryce nonetheless disclosed that the number of troops in the area had been increased by 60 percent since January. The number of reservists called up for active service rose by a similar percentage. He said that the Rhodesian military forces would be further expanded, and he extended an invitation to foreign "volunteers" to join up. A number of white foreign mercenaries, including Americans, are already fighting with the Rhodesians.

The military budget for the current fiscal year totals R\$9.2 million (one Rhodesian dollar is equivalent to US\$1.23), a 33 percent increase over the previous year. R\$5.1 million of that amount was specifically earmarked for counterinsurgency operations.

Racist regime prepares

"In pursuit of the security effort," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm reported from Salisbury March 9, "Mr. Sutton-Pryce said that Rhodesia was spending 'a tremendous amount of money' to improve communication and transport facilities in the border region. Air strips are being built and roads surfaced to deter mining. Rhodesia has developed and is producing a combat vehicle that he described as having 'counterambush and countermine capabilities.'"

In addition to these military measures, Sutton-Pryce described the efforts of the regime to isolate the guerrillas from their supporters in the



Rhodesian cavalry pursue Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

countryside. He said that between 175,000 and 200,000 Blacks have already been moved from their old homes into so-called protected or consolidated villages. This program is to be expanded.

Although Rhodesian officials have claimed that Black villagers moved into these enclosed compounds voluntarily, the Rhodesians are in actuality carrying out a program of forced resettlement similar to the "strategic hamlet" program enacted by Washington during its war in Vietnam. The "protected villages" are kept under constant guard, with all inhabitants required to show passes and undergo searches when entering or leaving.

The expansion of this program, which uproots and disrupts entire communities, may heighten the Black opposition to white rule even further. A white policeman, cited by Kamm in a March 10 dispatch from Bindura, in northeastern Zimbabwe, said that the principal reason for Black hatred of whites was the resettlement program. "The young," the policeman said, "are like animals, they hate us so much."

During the news conference, Sutton-Pryce added that it was questionable whether Joshua Nkomo has control

over any of the guerrilla forces. Nkomo is a Zimbabwean nationalist leader with whom the Rhodesians are holding secret negotiations. Sutton-Pryce said that the guerrilla war would continue even if the regime reached a political settlement with Nkomo. "It would be daydreaming to say it will come to an end," he said.

Imperialist pressure

In addition to the mounting opposition from the Black guerrillas, the Smith regime is also under greater diplomatic pressure from the imperialist powers, which are seeking to defuse the explosive Zimbabwe conflict before it endangers imperialist interests in the rest of southern Africa.

On March 12 President Ford declared that Salisbury should make "more progress" toward reaching a settlement with the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders. "There ought to be movement toward a majority government," he said. "That, I think, has to be inevitably the result."

Ford coupled this call, however, with a warning to Moscow and Havana not to become directly involved in the Zimbabwe conflict, as they had in the Angolan civil war. Warning them against "international adventurism," Ford said that Washington had "all kinds of contingency plans for all kinds of potential action" by Moscow and Havana against South Africa or Rhodesia. Ford's warning followed a similar one by Secretary of State Kissinger a week earlier.

A member of Nkomo's negotiating team, Willie Musarurwa, condemned Kissinger's statement March 10, terming it "very badly timed." He said that Kissinger's threats of U.S. action against possible Cuban involvement in Zimbabwe could stiffen the white Rhodesian opposition to Black majority rule.

Encourages settler regime

Musarurwa compared it to British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's statement, just before the white settlers declared Rhodesia's "independence" from Britain in 1965, that London would not use force to prevent the white coup. Wilson's declaration served to encourage the Rhodesian settlers to go ahead with their plans to

perpetuate white rule over the country's more than six million Blacks.

On March 8 Nkomo called on Washington to increase its pressure on the Smith regime. He said that Washington should "state very categorically they will not support in any way a white minority regime, and support majority rule now."

According to Kamm, in the March 9 *New York Times*, Nkomo also appealed to Washington to consider repealing the 1971 Byrd Amendment, under which Rhodesian chrome, nickel, and other mineral imports are allowed into the United States in violation of United Nations economic sanctions against the Rhodesian regime. That



Chrome mine. Ford presses for settlement to save rich natural resources for imperialist investment.

bill was passed shortly after President Nixon, in 1970, adopted the "Tar Baby" policy that "tilted" Washington more in favor of the white minority regimes of southern Africa.

The diplomatic and economic pressures on the Smith regime from the imperialist powers, including Washington, have so far been limited. The white Rhodesian rulers have not yet made any significant concessions to the Black majority.

On March 6 Smith again rejected the idea of immediate Black majority rule, stating that he would "never accept in principle a government which depends on the color of a man's skin. . . ."

Wisconsin bill threatens right to abortion

MILWAUKEE—The reactionary campaign to restrict women's right to abortion has made ominous progress in Wisconsin.

On March 4 the state assembly adopted a bill that would deny the state's Title 19 medical-aid funds for abortions unless a physician certifies that an abortion is necessary to save the life of a pregnant woman or that the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest.

Supporters of this bill (AB 421) argue that tax dollars should not subsidize abortions since many taxpayers oppose abortion on religious grounds.

In effect, this law would deny the right to abortion to thousands of young, minority, and poor women since many of them could not afford abortions without Title 19 funds.

The bill is clearly designed as a step toward overturning the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortions. The bill defines abortion as "the intentional destruction of life of the unborn child, and 'unborn child' means a human being from the time of conception until it is born alive."

In legalizing abortion, the Supreme

Court rejected imposing this minority religious view on all women.

However, if AB 421 becomes law it will help legitimize the "right-to-life" groups' claim that abortion is murder. It would add new force to their drive to

restrict abortion in every state and to enact a constitutional amendment outlawing abortions.

Seeing the danger of the intensified anti-abortion drive, women's rights supporters in Wisconsin have begun a



Thousands of anti-abortion demonstrators marched in Washington last January. Wisconsin bill threatens to restrict abortion and boost national right-wing drive.

countercampaign against these reactionary forces.

On January 22, fifty abortion rights supporters picketed "right-to-lifers" who held a "Tomb of the Unborn Child" demonstration at two Milwaukee abortion clinics. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Pro-Choice Abortion Coalition initiated another picket line of forty-five at the state office building in Milwaukee the day before the Assembly passed AB 421.

Two more demonstrations are planned for this month. The first will be in Milwaukee on March 20 at St. Sebastian's church. Demonstrators will protest a mass for all the "unborn children" who died because of abortions.

The second action will be in Madison, Wisconsin, on March 24 demanding that the senate reject AB 421. Thirteen organizations have already endorsed the demonstration, including Milwaukee and Wisconsin National Organization for Women, Young Socialist Alliance, Summit and Metropolitan medical clinics, and *Amazon*, a feminist newspaper.

Women's Day actions say 'Ratify the ERA'

By Ginny Hildebrand

Actions commemorating International Women's Day continued into last week in several cities. Like the earlier events reported in last week's *Militant*, they focused on the demand for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and mobilizing for the May 16 "National Rally for Equal Rights" in Springfield, Illinois, planned by the National Organization for Women (NOW).

In Atlanta on March 8, more than 400 people attended a benefit for the Equal Rights Amendment at the Great Southeast Music Hall. Georgians for the ERA (GERA), which had organized a January 10 march of 3,000, enlisted the talents of local singers, poets, and other entertainers to raise \$1,200 at the event.

The Georgia legislature recently bottled up the ERA in a house committee, thus blocking state ratification for the third consecutive year.

Carol Collins, an activist in GERA and a member of Atlanta NOW, urged the ERA supporters "to show those opponents of the amendment that we are not defeated or discouraged We will be in Springfield by the thousands on May 16."

On March 10 the Black Task Force of GERA and the junior class of Spelman College sponsored a panel discussion entitled "Black Women Speak Out—Why We Need the Equal Rights Amendment."

Speakers included Lithangia Robinson, president-elect of the Georgia Association of Educators; Mildred Glover, Georgia state representative; Darthula Stanfield, vice-president of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Miesha Patterson of the GERA Black Task Force.

Black women's stake

Responding to a question suggesting that the ERA will only benefit white, middle-class women, Lithangia Robinson pointed to the fight of Black working women against double discrimination. She cited government statistics showing the widening gap between the median incomes of Black women and other workers.

Miesha Patterson said that Black women face racial, economic, and sexual oppression, and that "liberation can only be a result of abolition of all these types of oppression."

The Black movement must "identify with the problems and struggle of more than one-half of the Black population—women," Patterson continued. "The effect of Black women

participating in the struggle to ratify the ERA will be the strengthening of the struggle against racism."

After the meeting, twenty women signed up to work with GERA.

The May 16 national ERA demonstration got a boost in New York as more than 200 women met at New York University on March 13.

Moved to action by the unexpected defeat of the state ERA referendum last November, women were eager to discuss ways to organize support for national ratification. The discussions involved members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), 100 Black Women, several campus women's centers and gay groups, and NOW, whose ERA committee initiated the meeting.

New Jersey NOW leader Alice Cohan reported on plans for a Freedom Train that will start in New York City and make stops in New Jersey and Pennsylvania to pick up ERA supporters bound for Springfield on May 15.

Building union support

Sarah Lovell, a CLUW National Executive Board member from the International Typographical Union, led workshops on "Unions and the ERA" and "How to Organize an ERA Committee in Your Union."

During the workshop three unionists joined CLUW and seven others renewed their CLUW memberships.

At a final conference session chaired by NOW leader Dian Terry, women gave reports from the teachers, students, housewives, and press workshops.

Sarah Lovell presented proposals from the union workshops. The first



State College marchers chanting, 'Women unite, stand up and fight; ERA is our right!'

was to send a letter to the New York City Central Labor Council urging it to endorse the national ERA demonstration and donate funds to send union members. The second proposal was to send a mailgram to Springfield NOW saying, in part: "We pledge to go back to our various organizations to obtain their endorsement and active support for May 15-16, so that we, and many more like us, can join you that day. On to Springfield!"

The conference unanimously voted to send both messages and set another meeting for March 27.

'Equal Rights Day'

In State College, Pennsylvania, home of Pennsylvania State University, Mayor Jo Hays proclaimed March 13 "Equal Rights for Women Day." On that day 400 people marched down the

main street of the city. The action, called by ERA United, was joined by members of the Pennsylvania State Board of NOW who were meeting in town.

The march ended on the steps of the University Baptist Church with a rally.

Like other speakers, ERA United leader Linda Joyce was cheered when she urged Penn State students and other State College residents to turn out for the May 16 march in Illinois.

On International Women's Day in Cleveland the local NOW chapter held a news conference to announce the formation of the Illinois ERA Mobilization Coalition.

Speaking at the news conference were Lana Moresky, former Ohio coordinator of NOW; Jack Weir, executive secretary of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild; Carolyn Folisi, a student at Memorial Junior High School and member of NOW; Melissa Singler, Ohio Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate; and representatives of Women's Equity Action League, League of Women Voters, and Council of Jewish Women.

The following Saturday, March 13, Cleveland CLUW sponsored a "Salute to International Women's Day." A featured speaker was Clara Day, community services director of Chicago Teamsters Local 743 and a regional vice-president of CLUW.

"CLUW has its gun loaded for ERA this time," Day stated. "We've made it first priority on the agenda. We need labor support for the ERA and that's where CLUW comes in. As a union representative, I believe that to get anything that affects our lives for women or minorities or the poor, it is labor that must do it."



New Jersey NOW leader Alice Cohan (front right) explains plans for Freedom Train at ERA conference workshop in New York.

NOW leader outlines national rally plans

[The following are excerpts from a speech by Mary Ann Sedey, the National Organization for Women's midwest regional director, given at the March 6 St. Louis rally for the Equal Rights Amendment.]

I'm not going to talk to you too long today, because I know we have to get out and start marching. But I want to ask you for some help.

I'm coming to you with something very specific that each of you can do to improve the chances for immediate ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

I'm coming to extend an invitation to you from the National Organization for Women and from the women of the state of Illinois to come to Springfield and be part of the biggest, most exciting women's movement action of the second wave of feminism.

That action is being called the "National Rally for Equal Rights." It's going to be held on May 15 and 16—that's Saturday and Sunday—in Springfield, Illinois.

The objective of the rally is to bring thousands and thousands of women and men from all over the country to demand immediate ratification of the ERA in Illinois. We hope that every state in the country will be represented.

It's been several years since we've viewed the ERA as a national issue, a national problem.

So, one of the objectives of the rally is to turn the eyes of the nation again onto the ERA and make it again a major national issue.

In addition, we want to change the tone of the fight—and it is a fight.

For too long, we've been making the technical, legal, rational arguments

about how the ERA isn't going to do all those terrible things that Phyllis Schlafly says it is going to do. How, really, this is just a matter of equal rights and simple justice.

We think it's important to turn it around and say that ratification of the ERA is one of the most important moral issues facing the country today. And that you're either for us or against us and forget all the legal, technical baloney.

It's very important to ratify in one state this year and Illinois is the state that has the best possibility of ratifying. That's why we're going to be there and that's how Illinois was picked.

In addition, it's going to provide an opportunity for a public demonstration of the continued growth and strength of the women's movement nationally.

And finally it's going to give us a chance to beat Phyllis Schlafly in her

own state.

The first day, Saturday the fifteenth, is going to be a day of doing work in legislative districts all over Illinois.

On Sunday morning, we're all going to Springfield, probably the state fairground, where we are going to prepare for the march to the capitol of Illinois.

At the end of that [the march] we'll have speakers from all over the country.

What we're talking about is something similar to the antiwar mobilizations that occurred in Washington, D.C., in the late sixties—something of that scale and that scope.

We have a lot of recruitment work to do. It's not enough that just you come. You've got to come and bring your friends, your neighbors, your relatives and children and husbands, and everybody you know.

Price of capitalism

The slaughter of twenty-six men in Oven Fork, Kentucky, mine explosions is a tragic reminder that profits, not human lives, come first for the coal barons.

More workers die in accidents in coal mining than in any other industry. Since 1969, more than 1,000 have perished. For the miners and their families, every workday is filled with the prospect that the miner will come home maimed or disabled—or will never return home again.

Not satisfied with the killing pace already in force, the mineowners are on a drive to speed up production and lower safety precautions still further, under cover of the “energy crisis.” Their murderous motives have resulted in a sharp increase in deaths. In 1975, 155 miners were killed.

For every dead miner, millions of dollars in profits pour into the coffers of Standard Oil, Gulf, Continental Oil, and the other energy monopolies that own most of the mines.

Gerald Ford, Republican candidate for president, has campaigned across the country attacking the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and encouraging business executives to defy federal safety regulations. “I will not tolerate the unnecessary and unjustified harassment of citizens,” says Ford.

By “citizens” he means the multimillionaire owners of industry.

By “harassment” he means any steps to protect workers’ lives.

Ford agrees with the coal profiteers that death in the mines is “unavoidable.” But miners know that death and destruction do not have to be the price paid for mining coal. This was the theme of the 1974 nationwide strike by the United Mine Workers of America.

The strikers demanded the right to walk out of unsafe mines and the right to elect their own union safety inspectors.

The union rejected the notion that it is “management’s prerogative” to dictate working conditions. “Coal will be mined safely or not at all!” the miners declared.

This latest disaster underlines once again that the coal bosses cannot be trusted to run the industry. Blinded by their greed for profits, they are incapable of protecting the lives and well-being of the miners. No worker is safe as long as the mines remain in the hands of the profiteers.

The mines and all other major industries should be taken over and run by working people. Only then will we put an end to tragedies like that in Oven Fork.

Israeli democracy?

Israeli police have resorted to mounting repression in past weeks against protests by the Palestinian population on the West Bank of the Jordan River. The West Bank was seized from Jordan during the 1967 Mideast War.

The wave of Arab protests began in late January after the debate in the United Nations Security Council on the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Student demonstrations and strikes by Arab merchants broke out in Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem, Jericho, and Al Bira.

Palestinians—both Muslim and Christian—have been angered by Israeli attempts to “stake a claim” to the area by establishing Zionist settlements there. Widespread resentment was also sparked by a recent court ruling favorable to right-wing Israelis who invaded a Muslim shrine in Jerusalem.

Israeli authorities began to bolster military and police patrols throughout the West Bank in mid-January. At the first sign of demonstrations, these occupation forces swung into action.

They savagely attacked peaceful marches, occupied schools, staged large-scale arrests, imposed censorship on Arab-language publications, and ordered restrictions on travel to Jordan. The Arab mayors and city councils of five West Bank towns resigned in protest this month against Israel’s orgy of repression.

Perhaps the most outrageous measure employed by the Zionist regime is the twenty-four-hour-a-day curfew that was imposed March 15 on citizens of Ramallah and Al Bira.

The plight of West Bank Arabs is simply a magnified form of the situation facing *all* Palestinians inside Israel. Zionism is compelled to deny Arabs the right to peaceful protest because Israel was founded on the seizure of their homeland and the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of their sisters and brothers.

Only the dismantling of the Zionist colonial-settler state—and its replacement by a democratic, secular Palestine where Arab and Jew can live in equality—will end the state of virtual martial law facing Palestinians inside Israel today.

Letters

Issue on women

What a splendid issue was your March 12. All that gorgeous news about and of interest to women!

Flo Kennedy and I are now working on a book about prostitution. I would like to include a great deal of the article about the Korean tours.

I am ordering two more copies of the March 12 issue. Thanks and looking forward to more.

Irene Davall

New York, New York

United Nations

I would like to comment on a recent statement by the United States calling the United Nations Commission on Human Rights a “travesty” and an “instrument of evil.”

The thirty-two-nation body had devoted much of its four-week meeting to criticism of the racist nations of Israel, South Africa, and the dictatorial Chile. The U.S. delegate wanted more criticism directed at the Soviet Union.

While I agree more attention should be given getting human rights for the people of the Soviet Union, I don’t think the U.S. government is really interested in human rights but only interested in political criticism of the USSR.

Let’s raise the demand for human rights in these countries and others.

M.W.

Richmond, Virginia

Chilean junta

A group is now forming in Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan, to fight the repression in Chile.

We hope to involve members of this community in exposing U.S. involvement with the Chilean junta and in exposing the brutal nature of the junta itself.

All readers in the mid-Michigan area who are interested in participating and helping in any way are invited to contact us.

Eduardo Vera Luna, (517) 489-0773

Tom Burkert, (517) 489-2391

Lansing, Michigan

‘Post’ strikers

Members of press operators Local 6 are being prosecuted for incidents relating to the strike still in progress at the *Washington Post*.

We are desperately in need of funds for legal services to protect our rights.

Your donations to the Local 6 Legal Defense Fund will assure these true trade unionists of an opportunity to continue to fight. Checks should be made, payable to: Local 6 Legal Defense Fund, c/o Ray Collins, 12433 Kemmerton Lane, Bowie, Maryland 20715.

James Dugan

Local 6 president

Washington, D.C.

Gay feminists excluded

The Denver International Women’s Day Coalition, a group initiated by the October League, prevented gay women from joining the March 6 local International Women’s Day support activities.

March organizers excluded slogans concerning the rights of lesbians from promotional material, but included a variety of slogans concerning women

and imperialism.

The sponsoring group made it known that they would not allow anyone to carry banners related to “lesbian-feminist” issues.

However, on the day of the march, forty-five women organized by the Woman to Woman Bookstore arrived to participate in the march wearing purple armbands.

In addition, these women carried banners that read, “Equal Rights for Women,” “Custody Rights for Lesbian Mothers,” “No Forced Sterilization,” and “Give International Women’s Day Back to Women.”

The women were ordered to drop the banners or leave the march by sixty members of the coalition. A spokesperson for the coalition told a reporter that lesbians “drive away people who want to participate.”

The contingent of women was blocked from joining the march by a line of marshals who linked arms across the street. Coalition members attacked the women and tried to take their banners from them.

Women who carried the banners were threatened with arrest by police if they persisted in joining the march. The contingent finally marched on the sidewalk alongside the main body of the demonstration.

Joan Paltrineri

Denver, Colorado

Chilean repression

The following resolution was passed by the annual convention of the American Sociological Association. Copies of the resolution, signed by ASA President Alfred McClung Lee, were sent to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Chile’s United Nations representative José Piñera, and U.S. ambassador to Chile Gen. Walter Heitmann.

“... we, the members of the American Sociological Association, condemn the repression of intellectual freedom in Chile and United States support thereof;

“That the Chilean junta release all political prisoners;

“That all political refugees from Chile who so choose be granted haven in the United States; and

“That the American Sociological Association ask for an accounting of the sociologists now missing.”

E.R.

Washington, D.C.

Kenosha strike

More than 200 Kenosha County, Wisconsin, employees had a march and rally in the city of Kenosha March 6 in support of their strike against the county government.

The marchers were among the 475 county employees in the county courthouse, highway department, and a nursing home who went on strike March 1.

The rally was addressed by representatives of the five unions on strike and by other labor officials from Racine and Fond du Lac, who pledged their solidarity with the strike and stressed its importance for all public employees in Wisconsin.

Some of the central issues in the strike are the refusal of the county board of supervisors to conduct serious negotiations and the fight for a cost-of-living clause.

Since before the strike the county government has been working closely with Patrick Brigden, a notorious antilabor lawyer who has been



Armageddon shopping list

involved in many recent union-busting activities, including the attacks by the Milwaukee Independent Meatpackers Association against Local 248 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union.

The March 6 rally was held in freezing temperatures. One of the speakers summed up the timeliness and importance of the strike when he stated that in the event of a snowstorm the county would be treated to the sight of "a lot of county supervisors with salt shakers rushing out to the county roads."

T.M.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Steel layoffs

Despite all the talk about economic recovery, layoffs are still taking place in the steel industry, and they are still discriminating against women and minorities.

I work in a small fabricating plant in Cleveland organized by United Steelworkers of America Local 7922. In January the plant laid off twenty-two of its sixty-two workers.

These layoffs are an attack on the right of every working person to a job, but even more important is the type of people affected.

Of the twenty-two layoffs, twelve were women. The plant went from a 26 percent female work force to 10 percent female just in its first layoffs. Three of the four women left have less seniority than the men working on similar jobs, and will surely be the next to go if more layoffs occur.

In order for minorities and women to defend the gains that have been won in the last decade, every union should support and institute a dual or multiseniority list so that the proportion of women and minority workers is not reduced. That is the only way we can insure rights for all.

Daryl Drobnic

Cleveland, Ohio

'Truth in eating'

I am a health inspector in New Jersey, and restaurant inspection is a large part of my job.

I am very much aware that a person may get sick or die from eating food from a restaurant and little or no connection may be made between the consumption of that food and the person's illness. It happens every day.

At least the public deserves some warning. Who are we protecting? The relative handful of restaurant owners or the thousands that patronize these places, believing that the government is doing its job?

In New Jersey, at least, it is required that the rating given the establishment is clearly posted near the entrance. I've never seen any signs whatsoever in Pennsylvania restaurants.

I believe that this should be a federal law. Like "truth in lending," "truth in eating" is essential in giving the consumer a fighting chance.

John Piscicella

Delran, New Jersey

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

They say there's "no money."

Need a job? Day-care center closing down? School programs cut back? Teachers fired? Sorry, folks. "No money." Haven't you heard about the new era of scarcity?

And so it goes. Day by day, lie by lie, dollar by dollar, the immense wealth created by the labor of working people is being stolen. Where does it go?

A large portion is siphoned off for the nuclear arsenal of U.S. imperialism.

For the capitalist rulers, this war machine is indispensable to protect their profits and the profit system. For working people, it is pure waste, a vast drain on our standard of living.

Unionists, students, and community activists fighting the social service cutbacks may find it useful to have some facts and figures on what the Democratic and Republican politicians are actually doing with our tax dollars.

President Ford's budget for fiscal 1977 requests a total "budget authority" of \$115 billion for so-called national defense purposes. We have no way of knowing how much war spending is hidden elsewhere in the budget, under appropriations for the State Department, space program, nuclear research, and so on.

The suppressed report of the House Intelligence Committee found that \$10 billion a year is concealed in the budget for the CIA's murderous operations. But if you read the entire 385-page budget as published by the Government Printing Office, you will find one and only one listing for the CIA: a modest \$28.3 million for the agency's "retirement and disability fund."

The biggest increase in the Pentagon budget this year is for weapons procurement. (In some cases only a partial appropriation is in this year's budget. But it is taken as a commitment to develop the new weapon and used to justify greater spending year after year.) Here are some of the major weapons systems:

Trident: nuclear-powered submarine carrying long-range nuclear-warhead-tipped missiles. \$18.5 billion for fleet of eleven submarines, or \$1.7 billion each. The cost of one Trident submarine equals the annual total spent by all levels of government for the education of

1,400,000 public schoolchildren.

B-1 bomber: \$21.5 billion for 244 bombers, or \$88 million per plane. The expenditure for each B-1 bomber could build two fully equipped 400-bed hospitals.

MX: code name for projected new intercontinental ballistic missile system. \$30 billion. Equal to total 1977 federal appropriation for education, training, employment, social services, natural resources, environment, and energy.

One of the Navy's nuclear-powered strike cruisers, at \$1.3 billion, would cover the New York City budget deficit for the next three years.

One nuclear-powered Nimitz-class supercarrier, complete with airplanes, has a price tag of \$5 billion. That's enough to hire a third of a million schoolteachers at \$15,000 per year.

The Armageddon shopping list for 1977 also includes:

- \$1.5 billion for 108 F-15 fighters;
- \$617.8 million for 100 A-10 attack planes;
- \$503.6 million for 927 M-60 tanks; and
- \$213 million for 15 UH-1H assault helicopters.

Since the overwhelming majority of the American people would prefer to see their tax dollars spent for social necessities, Congress is allowed, for public relations purposes, to go through the motions of "cutting" the Pentagon's request. The charade is carefully staged.

A memorandum from the president's Office of Management and Budget, leaked to the *New York Times* last month, revealed that \$3 billion in "cut insurance" was planned into the original Pentagon request.

The White House tacked on another \$2.7 billion. In initial action on the budget, the House Armed Services Committee has added still another \$2 billion. That adds up to a \$7.7 billion cushion from which congressional liberals can claim to "cut"—without touching one penny of what the Pentagon expected to get in the first place.

Last year, after Democratic liberals in Congress finished "cutting" war spending by \$7 billion, it ended up \$7 billion higher than in the previous year!

And they say there's "no money" . . .

National Picket Line

Hospital workers under fire

[The following guest column is by Caryl Towner, a secretary at Beth Israel Medical Center and a delegate in the guild division of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.]

The wage freeze and contract rollbacks that hit city employees last fall are now threatening other workers in New York as well, starting with employees of the voluntary (private) hospitals.

District 1199's contracts with the League of Voluntary Hospitals, covering 40,000 workers in fifty hospitals, expire June 30. The league has already told us that 1) it will not negotiate any wage increase, and 2) existing benefits will be reduced.

The league's excuse is a freeze on Medicaid payments, demanded by Gov. Hugh Carey and about to be enacted by the state legislature.

"Our members have just dug themselves out from the basement of poverty," says District 1199 President Leon Davis. "They are not going back on welfare." Davis says that if the governor's bill goes through, the union will have little choice but to strike on July 1.

Two other health-care unions in the New York area, Service Employees International Union Local 144 and Local 1115, have already been refused wage increases specified in their contracts because of the Medicaid freeze. When they threatened to strike, Carey went to court and got an antistrike injunction. The New York State Health Department offered to recruit scabs.

It is clear that the attack on our union is political in nature, and the question of political action takes on top priority for hospital workers.

Leon Davis recently wrote an appeal for contributions to our political action fund, called the Brother-

hood Fund. I sent the following response to our union newspaper:

To the Editor:

I want to agree wholeheartedly with Brother Leon Davis in his article in the February issue of *1199 News* on the Brotherhood Fund where he pointed out, "It is unfortunate the time is not yet here when we can have a political party representing working people and poor people." It is certainly true that neither the Republican nor the Democratic party represents working people or poor people.

I disagree with brother Davis that "in the meantime" we have no choice but to take our Brotherhood Fund money and give it to the "best" candidates available in those parties.

Many of our fellow unions spent considerable money in the last elections to get [New York Mayor Abraham] Beame and Carey elected as "friends of labor." Beame, Carey, and the other Democratic party "friends of labor" are now the people who are tearing up union contracts and imposing the wage freeze and layoffs.

I think it would be a waste of my \$2.50 for the fund to give it to Democratic party candidates. I think the fund could make much better use of this money by spending it to contact other unions and community groups and begin taking the first important steps necessary to form a new party. A new party that represents working people, a party based on the trade unions and poor people, a labor party.

Brother Davis says in his article, "I believe this is coming and it is not a long way off." Let's see if we can hurry it up with the Brotherhood Fund instead of trying to elect more Beames and Careys.

Caryl Towner



Frank Lovell

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Hard-nosed—"He was nothing but a mugger, a grown-up juvenile delinquent, but legend has made a hero of this small-time outlaw. If he were engaged today in 'robbing the rich to help the poor,' the punk would face at least 475 years in prison and fines ranging up to \$3 million."—The sheriff of Nottingham, explaining why he would not attend the city's annual Robin Hood Day festival.

Our rational world—Military budgets and the international arms trade now total nearly \$300 billion a year, according to a group of Washington researchers. They said governments spend an average of \$12,330 per soldier while public spending on education amounts to \$219 for each school-age child.

No penny-pincher—"We will spend what is necessary to maintain strategic sufficiency."—Henry Kissinger.

Sufficiency spending—Clearly a matter of strategic sufficiency, Henry cut through the problem when his spouse was in a Boston hospital for an ulcer operation. Each evening for more than a week, a U.S. Air Force jet flew him up from Washington for the 7:00-9:00 p.m. visiting hours. He berthed nightly at the Ritz-Carlton and the next morning the waiting jet flew him back to the office.

The golden years—"One in six persons sixty-five or older now live in poverty (an income of under \$46 a week for a single aged person or \$57

for an aged couple) compared to one in ten persons under sixty-five"—The *Los Angeles Times*.

A Great American Package—To celebrate (sellebrate?) the bicentennial, one whiskey is being offered in a bottle shaped like the Liberty Bell and another in one shaped like Mount Rushmore. Meanwhile, there's a T-shirt with the face of Spiro Agnew and the legend, "A Great American." As a tie-in deal, we'd like all three.

The holy family—Asked how he liked children, W.C. Fields responded, "parboiled." But perhaps his practically un-American attitude toward home and family was one source of his popularity. Advice columnist Ann

Landers asked her readers, "If you had it to do over again, would you have children?" Ten thousand responded. Seventy percent said no. Quite a testimonial to a social system that sees the nuclear family as a principal pillar.

Past perfect—The Guru Maharaj Ji is no longer the one perfect manifestation of divinity, his public relations person advised. Touched by criticisms from ex-members—some with financial complaints—the Divine Light Mission no longer expects members to prostrate themselves when the guru makes the scene. There was no indication of possible alteration of the life-style of the now imperfect master, who currently functions out of a \$400,000 Malibu, California, home.

Women in Revolt

March on Boston April 24!

On April 24, thousands of people who support the right of Black students to an equal education will march on Boston. "Two hundred years of racism is enough!" will be their slogan.

Women should be a loud and visible part of this demonstration. We have a big stake in this fight.

The racist forces in Boston have escalated their campaign against busing in recent months, to the point where fire bombings of Black homes, assaults on lone Blacks, and mass mobilizations of racist thugs are almost daily occurrences. Led by ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) and other right-wing groups, these bigots have made absolutely clear their intention to crush desegregation in the city of Boston.

Everyone who believes in the right of Blacks to go to the schools of their choice, live in the neighborhoods of their choice, and travel wherever they please should stand up and be counted in Boston April 24.

The racists have declared war not only on the rights of Blacks, but on the rights of women as well.

They pride themselves in having convicted Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black Boston doctor found guilty last year of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. Shortly after the Edelin trial, ROAR organized a gang of 200 hecklers to break up a meeting supporting the Equal Rights Amendment. Waving pictures of fetuses, and carrying signs that read "Feminist Domination Equals Communism" and "Abortion is Murder," the racists succeeded in drowning out many of the speakers.

Last month, when the Democratic and Republican contenders for president flocked to Boston for the primaries, they fell over each other appealing to the antibusing and anti-abortion voters.

Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion "right to life" candidate, expressly solidarized herself with the racist opponents of busing.

It is our job to let the racist gangs and the fetus fetishists know that they do *not* own the streets of Boston. To do that, we need to build the largest possible demonstration on April 24.

Cindy Jaquith



Women's participation in the march is especially important because the racists have had the audacity to claim that they speak for women. How many "mothers' marches" have we watched on television, where Louise Day Hicks and "Pixie" Palladino paraded at the head of the antibusing bigots? Using the same tactic as STOP ERA's Phyllis Schlafly, Hicks and Palladino try to represent their reactionary views as those of the majority of women.

On April 24, we can set the record straight. A large, militant march that day by the antiracist forces will send a message across the country, to all those fighting for desegregation, for ratification of the ERA, and for the right to abortion, alerting them to the importance of the struggle in Boston.

April 24 can also help gather momentum for the May 16 "Illinois Rally for Equal Rights," called for Springfield, Illinois, by the National Organization for Women. The May 16 demonstration for the ERA will strike another blow for human rights and against the reactionary enemies of women, Blacks, and all working people.

Their Government

The public financing racket

WASHINGTON—When the Supreme Court okayed "public financing" of Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns at the end of January, it justified doing so on the grounds that the two-party monopoly is a "fact of American life."

"Third parties have been completely incapable of matching the major parties' ability to raise money and win elections," the justices wrote. They may just as well have added, "And we plan to keep it that way."

The high court went on to quote approvingly from another decision that concluded that equal treatment for all parties "would not only make it easy to raid the United States Treasury, it would also artificially foster the proliferation of splinter parties."

At the time of the decision, ironically, a proliferation of *Democratic and Republican* party presidential candidates had already raided the treasury—also known as our tax money—of nearly \$5 million. Since then payments from the tax-subsidized "matching fund" have jumped to \$10.5 million.

As long as you profess your allegiance to one of the two capitalist parties and play by their rules, you can conceivably get in on this tax giveaway.

You need not pretend to have a program to solve the ills of the country. You can pick an issue that's got your dander up—like abortion—and you're in.

There is a catch. You've got to have an apparatus behind you—something like the Catholic church hierarchy—that can bring in the initial funds to trigger the government's matching payments.

After that you're free to spend, let's say, \$25,000 a week on advertising where bouncing, healthy babies are contrasted to bloody fetuses.

This, of course, is what Democratic anti-abortionist Ellen McCormack has done. So far, her presidential campaign committee, called the Pro-Life Action Committee, has been padded with \$100,000 in tax money.

Then there are the presidential latecomers and earlyleavers. Sen. Frank Church has been threatening to announce his candidacy for months, but in the meantime his campaign is busily raising money. His unannounced campaign has already received \$100,000 from the matching fund.

Others have already dropped out of the race, but that doesn't mean they have to return any money. In fact, they can continue to collect! Both North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford and Sen. Lloyd

Bentsen (D-Tex.) quit after the first state caucuses and before the first primary in New Hampshire. Together they had received more than \$750,000 in tax money.

All this, according to a recent *New York Times* editorial, is "the fair way to insure a hearing for all serious candidates." Now the *Times* is pushing for public financing of congressional campaigns as well.

That way we can start doling out tax subsidies to a bunch of Ellen McCormacks—"serious" only about reversing the gains of women—while the really serious candidates, like the Socialist Workers party's presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are locked out.

* * *

The election-year gimmick of Rep. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa)—a bill to rescind the congressional pay increase voted into law last year—got a boost in the New Hampshire primary, he says. Wallace Johnson ran for the Republican vice-presidential nomination solely on the issue of repealing the pay raise. He got 75 percent of the vote, more than 35,000 votes.



Nancy Cole

Socialist debates ex-CIA chief on spies, secrets & assassinations

By Ike Nahem

ITHACA, N.Y.—Former CIA Director William Colby began a national tour of college campuses here at Cornell University March 8, speaking on the topic "Secrecy in a Free Society."

For his efforts, Colby pocketed \$2,500 of student funds. The talk was sponsored by the Interfraternity Council, the Cornell Forum, and the University Union.

When Colby's invitation was announced, many campus groups—particularly the Cornell Young Socialist Alliance—insisted that the panel include different points of view, including those of victims of CIA harassment and surveillance.

The students succeeded in having two opponents of the CIA added to the panel: Dr. Gareth Porter of the Indochina Resource Center and Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. PRDF is organizing support for a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance to halt FBI and CIA operation against the two groups.

Also speaking on the panel were Prof. Robert Blakey of the Cornell Law School; Prof. Roger Cramton, dean of the law school; and Prof. Joseph Bugliari, who chaired the meeting.

From Joshua to Colby?

Three thousand students jammed into Cornell's Bailey Hall to hear the panelists.

The crowd, as a *New York Times* reporter put it the next day, was "largely unsympathetic" to Colby. He was met by a chorus of boos as he entered the stage. The meeting proceeded in an orderly manner, however, despite intermittent angry outbursts against Colby's more outrageous claims.

The former CIA chief argued that covert intelligence activities stand in the traditions of the American Revolution of 1776—and even the Bible.

"Intelligence," Colby said, "is a very old activity. Moses sent two spies from each tribe to spy out the land of Canaan. Joshua sent two spies into Jericho, where they spent the night in a harlot's house and then went down out of the town on a rope over the wall."

Colby moved from God's endorsement of the CIA to a number of more serious points.

He said that systems of congressional and White House "oversight" were now being developed to define "much more clearly the proper role and the improper role of intelligence." But the CIA has an invaluable role to play, he insisted, because "we see economic crises and problems ahead that can once again lead to extremist and radical solutions in [foreign] countries."

"In the less developed world," he added, "the question is more serious."

"So do we need intelligence and do we need the secrets that are necessary if we are going to have good intelligence?" Colby asked. "The answer is 'Yes.'"

The audience roared back, "No!"

Colby then turned to what he called "the exertion of political or even paramilitary influence where this is decided by our country." He called these activities "worthwhile," bemoaning the failure of the CIA's most recent such operation in Angola.

CIA and Vietnam

PRDF spokesperson Stapleton followed Colby on the program.

"This debate is not an exchange of opinion between people who see different solutions to a single problem that



"Intelligence is a very old activity. Moses sent two spies from each tribe to spy out the land of Canaan."—William Colby, March 8, 1976

we agree on," Stapleton said. "... We're on different sides of an ideological and political battle."

He pointed to the Vietnam War as an example.

"I supported the right of the Vietnamese to determine the future of their own country," he said. "I marched, picketed, protested, went to rallies, and so on. Mr. Colby supported an opposing point of view. . . . In fact, what he did was to participate in a brutal colonial war."

"But that wasn't all," Stapleton continued. "His co-workers in the intelligence community worked to sabotage our protests. They conducted burglaries and wiretaps. They inserted provocateurs in our movement to try and brand us as violent, instead of leaving the charge of violence where it belonged—on those who murdered thousands of Vietnamese."

Stapleton pointed out that Black organizations, the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and many other groups and individuals are also targets of harassment and disruption by the CIA and FBI.

Stapleton then turned to the question of why secrecy is so important to men like William Colby. "It's important," he said, "because Chileans, Vietnamese, Americans, Portuguese, Greeks, Brazilians, Iranians, and millions more reject what Colby and his government are trying to do."

"Why keep the bombing of Cambodia secret? To hide it from the Russians, or the Cambodians? Of course not. To hide it from us."

Stapleton was met with extended applause when he concluded, "It is becoming clearer and clearer that the American government is not a protector of democracy, but an enemy of democracy . . . not a force against violence, terrorism, and assassination, but a source of violence on an international scale."

"In the 200 years since 1776, the U.S. government has become the number one enemy of the Bill of Rights."

Dr. Gareth Porter from the Indochina Resource Center focused his remarks on the CIA's infamous Phoenix program in Vietnam—a program of which Colby was a top architect. The

operation was aimed at "neutralizing" active civilian supporters of the Vietnamese liberation forces "by capture, by killing, or by inducement to surrender." This boiled down to large-scale assassinations, imprisonment, and torture, Porter said.

Students in the hall held up a huge banner that read: "Assassin Colby: At Cornell 2,500 Dollars; In Vietnam 26,000 Bodies."

Sharp exchanges

During the question-and-answer period, one student after another challenged Colby's defense of the CIA. The responses by the panelists centered largely on sharp exchanges between Colby and Stapleton.

One student asked Stapleton whether PRDF had any evidence of continued illegal operations since Colby issued directives in 1974 supposedly terminating "Operation Chaos," a program that involved infiltration of antiwar groups and radical organizations in the United States.

Stapleton said that CIA domestic operations continue, although some programs may have been shifted to the FBI in light of recent embarrassing exposés. However, Stapleton said, "the CIA is still involved in disseminating information about American dissidents to repressive regimes abroad."

"That is just not so," Colby interjected.

Stapleton responded that through its lawsuit the Socialist Workers party has received a document proving that the CIA forwarded information about the party's presidential candidate, Peter Camejo, to an undetermined foreign government. The document was dated November 1974—eight months after Operation Chaos was supposedly dismantled.

Subversion abroad

Another questioner challenged Colby to defend the CIA's support to Portugal during that country's colonial wars in Africa.

Colby denied that the CIA backed Portugal in Angola—an assertion that flies in the face of well-known facts.

As for other CIA programs, Colby said, "some have been wise and some have not been wise. . . . I would point out that each of those programs was undertaken according to the procedures set up at the time by the elected officials of our government, including Congress."

Stapleton agreed that indeed Congress has approved of CIA activities, but "that doesn't mean that they were good activities." He added that CIA operations going back to the invasion

Continued on page 26

Cornell students protest CIA crimes

Students at Cornell University took advantage of former CIA Director William Colby's appearance there to conduct an educational campaign to expose the agency's criminal activities at home and abroad.

Prior to the evening meeting, 200 students attended an afternoon rally protesting the CIA.

Colby's \$2,500 invitation to speak on campus understandably evoked revulsion among many students. Some believed that Colby should not be allowed to speak. Last December a group of Cornell students had shouted down former South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Cao Ky, resulting in a witch-hunt by the university administration to victimize faculty and student protesters.

The Cornell Young Socialist Alliance contended that such a disruption of Colby's appearance would be totally counterproductive. The YSA, which helped organize the afternoon anti-CIA rally and ensure that opponents of the agency would be heard at the evening meeting, distributed a leaflet on campus outlining its views.

"As we protest Colby's presence at Cornell," the statement said, "we should not fall into the trap of opposing his right to come here and speak." To do so, the YSA argued, would "unnecessarily divert attention to the false issue of free speech instead of concentrating on the immediate and real issue of the CIA and its crimes."

"Most students want to confront Colby politically and not shout him down," the YSA said, "to expose him and not give this criminal the chance to pose as a persecuted victim of suppression of free speech."

Syd Stapleton, a spokesperson for the anti-CIA viewpoint in the evening panel, touched on this question during his opening remarks. "Regardless of whether [Colby] speaks on this individual campus," Stapleton said, "people are going to hear his point of view. . . . It's the view that most politicians are going to defend—more or less openly—Democrats and Republicans alike. . . . We should take every opportunity we can get to answer it."

—I.N.

Reid tours Chicago

Illinois SWP runs Thompson for governor

By Barbara Mutnick

CHICAGO—Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid was on hand in Chicago at the end of February to join Linda Thompson, who announced her campaign for governor of Illinois on the SWP slate.

"Linda Thompson is a fighter," Reid told a lunchtime campaign meeting at the Loop-area YWCA. "She's been involved in struggles for social justice for the past fifteen years. What's more, her program offers solutions to the problems faced by working people . . . and provides an alternative to the racist, sexist, and antilabor policies of the Democratic and Republican party candidates."

Most recently, Thompson has been organizing for the national demonstra-

tion for the Equal Rights Amendment, planned for May 16 in Springfield, Illinois, by the National Organization for Women.

At a February 28 campaign rally, Thompson challenged her opponents, who claim to back the ERA, to support the May 16 demonstration.

"Lip service is not enough," she said. "One of my opponents, Daniel Walker, is currently the governor of this state. Another, Michael Howlett, is representing the powerful Daley machine. And still another, James Thompson, is the leading Republican candidate in the state."

"They all say they support the ERA. But what have they done to prove it? Why is the ERA still pending in the state legislature?"

Linda Thompson is also the only candidate campaigning for school desegregation. Chicago's school system is the most segregated of all northern cities, with 86 percent of Black students attending schools that are 90-100 percent Black.

The day before Thompson announced her campaign, the Illinois State Board of Education threatened the Chicago board with cutting off millions of dollars in state and federal funds if it didn't come up with a desegregation plan to be implemented within one year.

The superintendent of Chicago schools, Joseph Hannon, objected to the order, raising the specter of "white flight." Blaming segregated schools on housing patterns, he said the order would be impossible to implement within one year.

Referring to the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, Linda Thompson lashed out at Hannon: "This man says they need more time when they've had more than twenty years!"

In her speech to the February 28 rally, Thompson pointed to the 1966 report endorsed by the U.S. Office of Education that divulged a segregationist conspiracy between the board of education and the Chicago Real Estate Board.

"Together," Thompson concluded, "these two bodies enforced segregation, perpetuated it, and created it. They drew and they redrew the boundaries of school districts to follow the patterns of segregated housing."

The silence of her political opponents on this issue indicates their complicity in this scheme and emboldens the Chicago school board, Thompson said.

As governor, Daniel Walker's policies have been unmistakably racist and harmful to all working people in Illinois.

He counts among his accomplishments knocking more than 4,700 recipients off welfare; reducing state aid to public education by \$140 million this year; and firing 4,000 state employees. He also stands for reinstituting the death penalty.

Linda Thompson's front-running Republican opponent, James Thompson, also has a reprehensible record.

As a U.S. attorney, he was notorious



Militant/George Basley
Linda Thompson. Support for ERA and school desegregation are major planks in her campaign.

Reid backs Hampton suit

CHICAGO—During her tour here in February, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid spent a day in court listening to the suit against Illinois officials and the FBI brought by families of slain Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.



REID: Hampton suit is smashing to bits government lies.

In a statement to the news media, Reid expressed her support for the suit and called for full disclosure of FBI Cointelpro operations against Black and socialist groups.

Reid said, "The FBI documents being brought to light in this trial and in earlier suits clearly show that the FBI (under both Democratic and Republican administrations) conspired with local police to crush organizations with dissenting views. The *Hampton v. Hanrahan* suit is smashing to bits the outright lies the government has used to cover up its murderous attack on the Black Panther party six years ago. . . .

"We cannot rely on judges, or congressional 'oversight' committees, to order full disclosure of illegal FBI and CIA activities, as the recent efforts to suppress the Pike CIA committee report show. What it will take to get at the truth is millions of Americans insisting on the right to know all the facts."

"I salute the Hampton and Clark families and the December 4 Committee [which is organizing publicity for the suit] for attempting to bring out the full truth and scope of the criminal raid aimed at destroying a part of the Black liberation movement."

California Democratic Council backs Hayden

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Supporters of Tom Hayden are jubilant over his winning the endorsement of the California Democratic Council in his bid for the Democratic nomination for U.S. senator.

Unquestionably, the February 28 action by the CDC gives new momentum to Hayden's forces. It also offers a worthwhile clue as to what's wrong with his campaign.

An organization of liberals, the CDC functions as a pressure group seeking to move the Democratic party in a more progressive direction.

The annual CDC convention, held here February 28-29, also voted to endorse Fred Harris, the liberal Oklahoman, for the Democratic presidential nomination.

With a 60 percent vote required for endorsement, Hayden won 68 percent of the votes of the 1,081 CDC delegates. Incumbent John Tunney received only 24 percent.

Tunney has fallen into disfavor with many liberals. They were particularly upset by Tunney's reversal of his stand

in favor of the Kennedy health-care bill and his support of legislation pushed by the oil monopolies.

The effective strength of the CDC within the Democratic party is, however, quite limited. It currently claims some 15,000 members throughout the state.

CDC endorsement reflects the essentially common political outlook Hayden shares with it. Although sometimes tagged by the media as a "radical," Hayden is pretty much a traditional reformer who favors curbing some of the excesses of capitalism, not abolishing it.

Like the CDC, Hayden is intent on persuading those concerned with social progress that the best way to achieve it is within the Democratic party.

The CDC, of course, has been implementing this perspective much longer than Hayden, but with little success.

At one point this did not seem to be the case. While the CDC has but 15,000 members today, it was credited in the late 1950s with nearly 100,000.

But while it had the ear of a good number of rank-and-file Democrats,

the CDC was never able to exercise any decisive influence among the Democratic bosses who make the party's policy and pick its principal nominees.

At the same time the CDC has proven to be a boneyard for radicals who accepted the thesis that the road to social change was through the Democratic party.

For example, in its early years the CDC was a rallying point for members of the Communist party. For decades now the Communist party has stubbornly insisted that the Democratic party embraces the "mainstream" of the American workers and it is therefore necessary to work within it and to support its less unpalatable candidates.

The CDC did not decisively affect the policies of the Democratic party, and began to dwindle. Meanwhile, a considerable number of Communist party members began to feel there was little point to paying dues to two organizations and simply became good Democrats.

The totality of the CDC experience to

date confirms how false the Hayden work-within-the-system thesis is. If anything changed over the years as the result of CDC activity, it was not the Democratic party but those who joined it in order to change it. The Democratic party didn't become radical. But a lot of radicals became Democrats.

Fortunately, the present California senatorial race does provide a meaningful choice for those who have come to recognize that necessary social change cannot be achieved through the Democratic party.

Omari Musa, the senatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers party, offers an alternative to both Tunney and Hayden because he starts from an entirely different basic proposition. Musa's socialist campaign proceeds from the reality that the multiplicity of contemporary social evils stems from the capitalist system itself. Such evils won't be eliminated through the Democratic party, which is owned and controlled by the capitalists and is committed to the perpetuation of the capitalist system.

Speaks out for busing, ERA

800 hear Camejo in Ohio and Kentucky

By Chris Rayson
and Marty Boyers

CLEVELAND—Nearly 800 people attended meetings to hear Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo during his tour of Ohio and Kentucky the first week in March.

"What the Massachusetts primary showed is that most people are not voting," Camejo told the 110 participants at a March 6 campaign rally in Cleveland.

While the media portray the electorate as moving rapidly to the right, Camejo said, the fact is that most voters are becoming disillusioned with politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties. That's why 70 to 80 percent of the electorate didn't vote in Massachusetts.

"We urge the formation of a labor party that would address the real problems facing working people," he explained. The absence of a mass independent party that speaks to these needs is a major factor behind low voter turnout, Camejo said. People don't see any alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, whose programs they know aren't working.

The socialist candidate stressed the importance of the labor movement championing the causes of all the oppressed. He singled out the current struggles to achieve school desegregation and to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Also speaking at the rally was Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee based in Toledo.

Workers, Valasquez said, "have to relate to the real economic and political problems that face us. No politician is going to save us. That's why we need the political experience of parties like the Socialist Workers party, and we appreciate the SWP being around."

The rally also heard greetings from Jack Weir, executive secretary of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild.

Melissa Singler, Ohio SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, chaired the program. She announced that support-

ers of the socialist campaign in Ohio had obtained 20,000 signatures on nominating petitions to place Camejo, herself, and SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid on the November ballot.

After the rally, two campaign activists asked to join the SWP.

More than twenty students throughout Ohio and Kentucky asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance as a result of Camejo's appearances at several campuses in the two states. Many others volunteered to campaign for the socialist candidates.

Camejo made support for school desegregation the central focus of his speeches in Kentucky, where racists in Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County have waged a campaign of violence against a court-ordered busing plan.

Julian Carroll, Kentucky's Democratic party governor, said last fall that he would not welcome any candidate to the state who did not support a constitutional amendment against busing. The students who heard Camejo at the state's two largest campuses felt quite differently.

Camejo received a standing ovation from the 150 people who attended his talk March 2 at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. His campaign was endorsed from the platform by Shelley Griffith, coordinator of the



Camejo speaking at Cleveland State University during Ohio-Kentucky tour

campus pro-ERA group, and Bob Bonde, a sociology instructor who is leading a fight against demolition of housing for university expansion.

Ninety students at the University of Louisville heard Camejo speak later that day.

The socialist campaign also met with a good response on Ohio campuses. At the University of Cincinnati

55 students turned out for a campaign meeting sponsored by the YSA and the student government. And 125 students heard Camejo at Ohio State University in Columbus.

Camejo also spoke at Cuyahoga Community College, Baldwin-Wallace College, Kent State University, Oberlin College, and Cleveland State University.

Ohio socialists announce Senate candidate

CLEVELAND—The Ohio Socialist Workers party announced its candidate for U.S. Senate at a news conference here February 25. The party's candidate, Melissa Singler, pledged to carry out a campaign as "vigorous and successful" as the party's 1974 bid for governor.

In that race, SWP candidate Nancy Brown received nearly 100,000 votes from Ohio residents fed up with the policies of Democrat John Gilligan and Republican James Rhodes.

Singler said that she would cam-

paign on a "program based on the needs of the vast majority—workers, women, Blacks, and students." She called for the billions of dollars now squandered on the war budget to be used instead to finance schools and to create jobs.

Mike Alewitz announced his candidacy on the SWP ticket in the Fourteenth Congressional District at an Akron news conference the same day. As a former leader of the Kent State University antiwar movement, Alewitz was an eyewit-

ness to the massacre there in May 1970. He is demanding that the investigation into the murder of Kent students be reopened.

"The only thing the Democrats and Republicans offer is more war, more unemployment, less to eat and poorer housing," Alewitz said at the news conference.

"Because no candidate has come forward in the 14th C.D. to answer these problems, I am today announcing my candidacy for U.S. representative."

'New York Times' reviews 'Cointelpro' book

By Peggy Brundy

When the more than one million readers of the March 14, 1976, *New York Times Book Review* turned to page 2, they found a major "think-piece" about the FBI and its ongoing violations of the democratic rights of American citizens.

The author of the review, Victor Navasky, uses as his starting point two new books: *FBI* by Sanford Ungar, the Washington editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*; and *Cointelpro: The FBI's*

Secret War on Political Freedom, edited by Cathy Perkus with an introduction by Noam Chomsky. Many readers of the *Militant* are undoubtedly familiar with *Cointelpro*, since a number of the essays in it are based on articles by Nelson Blackstock that originally appeared in this newspaper.

Both books, says Navasky, expose the extensive FBI harassment. "It turns out, for instance," he writes, "that much of the so-called paranoia of the left—old and new—should not have been so-called after all." Dissidents during the Joseph McCarthy witch-hunt era of the 1950s; the civil rights movement; the antiwar movement; Black nationalists; and socialist parties have been proven correct in their charges of FBI persecution and infiltration.

"Non-violent splinter groups like the Socialist Workers Party," he continues, "have long insisted that they were a special target of the Bureau, and F.B.I. documents, recently made public under a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit, confirm that the Bureau launched a special S.W.P. disruption campaign as part of its counterintelligence program."

"*Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*," edited by Cathy Perkus, documents how the F.B.I. tried to get the University of Arizona Board of Regents to fire a professor who happened to be an S.W.P. member, sent a fake letter from a 'concerned mother' alleging subversive activities

against an S.W.P. school board candidate, harassed a scoutmaster whose wife was an S.W.P. member and, to generate mutual suspicion, created the impression that an S.W.P. officer had stolen funds from a S.W.P. defense committee."

Navasky takes Ungar to task for failing to "explore the implications of some of his observations," but the *Times* reviewer cannot quite accept the Marxist conclusions drawn in *Cointelpro*.

"The Socialist Workers Party argues," he writes, "that all of the F.B.I.'s actions against them may be seen as part of a consistent strategy since 'The ruling class, which runs the government, is convinced that it would be better for them if socialism were considered illegitimate or "subversive."'"

"There is insight behind the S.W.P. rhetoric," he continues, "but my own suspicion is that Marxist analysis is inadequate to account for the peculiar blur of ideology into bureaucratic momentum that seems to characterize the F.B.I."

Not all of the readers of the Sunday *Times* will agree with *Cointelpro's* conclusions either, but the fact that the country's most prestigious and widely read review of books took notice of the book is significant.

In another development regarding the book, Vintage Press, a division of the publishing giant Random House,

has decided to publish a trade paperback edition of *Cointelpro* this fall.

The Vintage edition will incorporate newly obtained information about FBI harassment along with several documents, according to editor Cathy Perkus, who is a staff member of the Political Rights Defense Fund. PRDF is the committee organizing support and raising money for a suit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance to halt government harassment and disruption of the two organizations.

Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom was published last November by Monad Press and is distributed by Pathfinder Press. Since last November, more than 6,000 copies have been sold.

One of the most active salespeople has been Alberta Dannells of Tucson, Arizona. There are hundreds of supporters of the suit in Tucson, she reports.

Dannells has ordered and sold more than sixty copies by calling endorsers and telling them about it. If they want a copy, she sends them a book and bills them for it.

Branches of the SWP have sold more than 1,100 copies of the book.

Copies of *Cointelpro* are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. The cost is \$9.00 for cloth, \$1.95 for paper. A special offer is available for readers of the *Militant*—five copies for \$7.00.

COINTELPRO*

THE FBI'S SECRET WAR ON POLITICAL FREEDOM

Exclusive: Documents from illegal
*Counterintelligence Programs the
government was forced to reveal

Introduction by Noam Chomsky

National City council election

Chicano slate captures quarter of vote

By Mark Schneider

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—Two independent Chicano candidates, Oscar Cañedo and Jesse Ramirez, won 25 percent of the vote here in the March 2 elections for city council. They finished fourth and fifth in a field of six. The two candidates were backed by the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights.

Luis Natividad, an independent running for school board, garnered 21 percent of the vote.

The campaign was sparked by the murder of Luis Rivera, a Puerto Rican youth, by a National City cop last October. Rivera was falsely suspected of a purse snatching.

When the city council failed to take action against the cop, the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights launched a recall campaign against two council members and the mayor. It also announced candidates for the regularly scheduled elections.

In the days before the election, more than 100 Chicano activists worked hard to get out the vote. Students from Sweetwater High School played an important role in mobilizing Chicano voters, many of whom were registered for the first time by the ad hoc committee.

All three independent candidates addressed an election-night rally attended by hundreds of Chicanos and their supporters.

"We have nothing to be ashamed of," ad hoc committee chairperson Herman Baca said, summarizing the election results. "The American revolution of 1776 began with a minority. The Cuban revolution began with a minority. This was a first step—only a



Militant/Marc Rich

October 1975 rally in National City to demand that city council take action against cop who murdered Luis Rivera.

beginning.

"We've got to stop what the police are doing. The other day, six cops beat up a seventeen-year-old Anglo. So we can see this police brutality is still going on." Baca pointed to the murder of Danny Treviño by a San Jose cop as an example of the "justice" meted out to the oppressed.

Luis Natividad introduced some of the hard-working activists in the campaign, who included members of NIA, a Black organization, and the Socialist Workers party.

Baca concluded the rally on a determined note. "The rich are not the people who are going to govern National City," he said. "We are going to govern National City! It's only a

matter of time. ¡Si se puede! [Yes, it can be done!]"

The campaign was marked by serious harassment of committee supporters. Many Chicanos had their residency challenged at the polls and were threatened with prosecution by election officials. Even members of Baca's family, who have lived for years in National City, were challenged.

The committee plans to push forward with its lawsuit on the recall petitions it submitted last December 31. Although more than 25 percent of the registered voters signed recall petitions against two council members and the mayor, the city clerk ruled that more than two-thirds of the signatures were invalid.

Don Sorsa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Forty-second District—which includes National City—put in many long hours at the ad hoc committee office working to support the campaign of Cañedo, Ramirez, and Natividad.

"This campaign was an important first step," Sorsa told me. "What is needed now is an ongoing political party—run and controlled by Chicanos—to challenge the Democratic and Republican parties."

"In San Fernando, Chicanos are running a municipal race under the banner of La Raza Unida party. Although the National City elections are officially nonpartisan, an independent Chicano party would have been a powerful tool against the entrenched capitalist parties," he said.

"Such a party could have raised a full program for Chicano liberation, including such items as the removal of the cops from the Chicano community and their replacement with a community-elected, community-controlled defense force."

Sorsa said that an independent Chicano party could take forceful stands on many of the important causes that his campaign is championing: the struggle of undocumented workers and farm workers; the fight for quality, bilingual-bicultural education; demands for jobs; and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Sorsa's supporters are campaigning door to door in National City. Between now and the elections next November, they intend to reach thousands of Chicanos in this city with the socialist program.

Texas socialist announces for U.S. Senate race

By Gene Lantz

HOUSTON—Pedro Vásquez announced at a February 27 news conference here that he is running for the U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers party ticket to unseat Democrat Lloyd Bentsen, a millionaire businessman and rancher.

In his statement, Vásquez spoke out against the racist violence being used by antibusing whites in Boston. "The socialist campaign fully supports the rights of Blacks and Chicanos to an equal education," he said. "That is why you will find me and my supporters on the picket lines and demonstrations in Dallas that are demanding immediate school desegregation."

Vásquez continued, "Compare this to Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and his cronies in the Democratic and Republican parties, who are tripping over each other to support antibusing bills . . . to show



Militant/Stu Singer

Vásquez actively backs union organizing drive by Houston hospital workers.

their support to the white racist criminals."

The Chicano socialist also announced his support for the hospital workers organizing drive now taking place in Houston. He and some of his supporters participated in a February 28 march called by the hospital workers.

Vásquez said that the Democrats and Republicans have "promised much and delivered nothing" in response to the mounting problems facing working people. "My campaign will urge working people and our allies to rely on ourselves and to break out of the two-party trap," he said.

Also appearing at the news conference was Joanne Haensgen, who is the SWP candidate in the Eighteenth Congressional District, running against Barbara Jordan, a Democrat.

Haensgen blasted the statement in

Jordan's latest newsletter that "federal intelligence gathering is a legitimate function. The CIA cannot be abolished."

Haensgen responded that the CIA "has no legitimate functions," pointing to its role in assassination plots and subversion of foreign governments.

Haensgen said that she would also use her campaign to build support for the Equal Rights Amendment and to defend women's right to abortion.

Beginning May 2, the Texas socialists will launch a drive to gather 33,000 signatures on nominating petitions to ensure the SWP a place on the November ballot.

"The socialist campaign will be the only alternative that working people have in this election," Vásquez said, "and I intend to carry that campaign to every corner of this state."

Brooklyn tenants protest sky-high rent hikes

By Candida Barberena

NEW YORK—Residents of Brooklyn's Mitchell-Lama housing developments are getting together to fight against astronomical rent increases.

"There are many of us who believe that rather than move away from the problem, we must stay here and fight," Shirley Smedley told the *Militant*. She was attending a meeting of more than 100 people, sponsored by the Ebbets Field Residents Organization.

So far, the predominantly Black and Caribbean residents have forced management to knock down proposed per-room rent hikes from forty dollars to eighteen dollars. Smedley, president of EFRO, said that there's a need for a city-wide organization to guarantee stabilized rents for middle-income

residents in the Mitchell-Lama housing developments.

Bassillia Obiang, EFRO vice-president, remarked that the trouble is that "management has no empathy for the problem and they can't and don't want to relate to it."

Management claims that rent hikes are needed because of rising maintenance costs. But Obiang pointed out that the owners have fallen short on every promise to upgrade the development. "I've had to go up and down twenty flights because of broken elevators," she said.

As for the concern of elected officials for the Ebbets Field residents, Obiang said, "The politicians have not come to us. . . . They are waiting, as usual, for us to go to them."

Smedley, who chaired the meeting, introduced Pat Wright, Socialist Workers party candidate in Brooklyn's Fourteenth Congressional District, noting that her presence at the meeting was a sign of broadening support for the tenants' struggle.

Wright told the EFRO activists that she believed decent housing was the right of all people. But, she added, it is a right that we have to fight for.

The rent strike at Mitchell-Lama's massive Co-op City development shows, Wright said, "that the Democratic and Republican parties are speaking out of both sides of their mouths." The socialist was referring to Gov. Hugh Carey's election promises to Co-op City residents to oppose

further rent hikes. Once safely in office, however, Carey turned his back on those promises and now actively backs the state's attempts to break the Co-op City rent strike.

Action is under way in the state legislature to roll back all protective measures against frequent rent increases. Ebbets Field, which is a city-subsidized project, would be directly affected by the repeal of the Merola law, which prohibits rent increases more often than once every two years.

Among the actions taken to prevent further rent increases at this project was a spontaneous street protest last summer. Now the tenants are discussing a borough-wide rally against rent increases and demanding state financial aid.

Vote CP? Vote Democrat?

Unraveling 'complexities' of Stalinist campaign

By Harry Ring

The other day I stopped in at my favorite Los Angeles juice bar for a quick shot of carrot juice. But I got interested in the conversation at the next table, so I stayed and had a couple.

I've heard their discussions before. Two old-time Communist party members or supporters. One of them, Stanley, is a very consistent supporter of the party line. Max, on the other hand, is a bit of a dissident.

"I wonder what the party's going to do about the campaign for president," Max was saying.

"Do? What do you mean, do?" Stanley responded. "We're running Hall and Tyner."

"That was in '72, Stanley."

"Yes, in '72, and they're the party's standard-bearers again in '76. You don't like the idea? You're pretending you don't know?"

"You know?"

"Of course I know. The February 19 *Daily World* had a banner headline—in red ink! You didn't see it?"

"No."

"So then you read it in the *People's World*."

"No way. I don't read it like I used to, but announcing the party's presidential ticket I wouldn't have missed."

"Well, the fact is, Max, it did appear. I have the issue with me. February 21. Here."

"So, where is it?"

"Where? Right in front of you, on the back page."

"That's it, that's the 'announcement'? Five inches squeezed into the middle of the back page? No wonder no one out here knows they're running."

"I might agree with you on that, Max. It could have been more prominent."

"More prominent? It looks like an announcement of the Trotskyite slate."

"Don't make a big deal out of it, Max. I'm sure the paper will support the party ticket."

"What do you figure it is, Stanley? Is the paper pissed because they didn't nominate Angela Davis?"

"Don't start that divisive stuff, Max. Angela was at the New York press conference and presented Hall and Tyner to the media."

"They flew her in for that? They wanted to show she has no hard feelings, not being nominated?"

"Well, it did help underline that the party is united behind Hall and Tyner."

"I wonder what the problem really is?"

"You always see problems, Max."

Look at the positive side. I read Gus Hall's statement accepting the nomination. It's very forthright on the issues."

"Oh. What did he say about the Equal Rights Amendment?"

"Nothing."

"Why not?"

"You know perfectly well, Max. It's controversial."

"You mean a lot of right-wingers are against it."

"Perhaps the right-wingers are against the ERA. That doesn't prevent our party from taking a principled stand against it."

"So how come, Stanley, Gus didn't mention we're against it?"

"Well, for one thing, a lot of party members are for it."

"So explain to me, why is the party against the ERA?"

"Look, I'm not Einstein. I don't pretend to know everything. But I'm sure it's for reasons of principle."

"You mean the central committee is opposed in principle to equal-rights for women?"

"Don't be cynical. Besides, the important thing is, the party decided it wanted Hall and Tyner."

"But Angela would have gotten a lot more support than old Gus."

"That's true. She might have gotten too much support."

"Too much? Is that bad, Stanley? What are we running for?"

"Well, as you well know, Max, we have a rather complex electoral strategy."

"You mean we're supporting the Democrats again?"

"I didn't say that. Besides, we still don't know who they're going to run. That's one of the complexities."

"What's complex? After the last election Gus said we'd spent too many years supporting Democrats. He was even pissed that members of the central committee had voted for McGovern instead of for him. He said it in the 'Lame Duck' speech. Remember? They even put it out as a pamphlet. No more hustling votes for the Democrats."

"Yes, yes, Max. But he recently said some people read that speech in a one-sided way."

"So what's that got to do with not running Angela?"

"Well, as I see it, many people don't see her in quite the same way as they do the party. It's unfortunate, because she's a lot more solid than most party people. But she does project that independent image and she enjoys wider support than the party itself."

"That's a reason for not running her?"

"Well, it could get out of hand."

"Out of hand? You said yourself, she stands by the party line."

"I know, Max. But with her running, the campaign might gain a momentum of its own. Perhaps more momentum than desirable. It's not totally excluded, you know, that the Democrats might still nominate someone who isn't bitterly against détente. We wouldn't want to get caught out in left field."

"And if they nominate some Soviet-baiter, what do we do—support Ford?"

"Obviously not, Max. People would misunderstand. But with Comrade Hall running we can adjust our tempo better."

"In other words, we won't really start campaigning for our ticket until after the Democratic convention and then probably it'll be just another one

of the token ones like we ran before. So, why are we running at all?"

"It's our vanguard role, Max."

"Sure. You know what I think—and don't start telling me I'm being cynical—I think the main reason we bother running at all is on account of the Trots."

"Well, it is a fact, Max. The Socialist Workers party presidential campaigns have been quite successful in exploiting dissatisfaction with the major parties. We can't ignore their growing influence."

"But if they're getting people away from the Democrats, why can't we?"

"Because people aren't ready."

"Look, I'll skip the contradictions if you'll just explain to me how we'll get people ready to break from the Democrats if we keep supporting them?"

"Max, don't you think we'd do better leaving such questions to the leadership?"



HALL & DAVIS: Applause for the 'lesser evil' again?

Mpls. taxi drivers union defeated in strike

By Bill Onasch

MINNEAPOLIS— A fifty-six-day taxi strike ended here February 19 with the Guild of Taxi Drivers and Associated Workers approving a thirty-month contract by a two-to-one margin.

The contract is generally recognized as a serious defeat for the new, independent union.

The guild was forced to accept lower commission rates for new drivers and to allow the companies to begin taxi leasing operations, which the drivers bitterly oppose. The union failed to win reduction of the 47.5-hour minimum workweek for full-time drivers.

The guild also failed to win reinstatement of a number of union militants fired during the strike. Criminal charges stemming from picket line incidents are still pending against several strikers.

The guild was initiated by a group of young, radical-minded drivers, who had some experience in antiwar, women's liberation, and other protest activities on campus.

Basing themselves on the frustration of drivers with the misleadership of the Teamsters union, which formerly represented most taxi employees, the guild challenged and defeated the Teamsters in a decertification election last year. The guild leaders rejected any idea of trying to organize within the existing union to fight for better conditions.

Once in the leadership of a union of 600 drivers, facing a major confrontation with the employers, the weaknesses of the guild leadership came to the fore. While writing off the Teamsters union as hopelessly bureaucratic and corrupt, they had not developed an alternative strategy to the class-collaborationism of the Teamster offi-

cialdom.

Not unlike the Teamsters, the guild leaders pinned their hopes on favorable intervention by the National Labor Relations Board or local Democratic party politicians. They consciously rejected the approach of mobilizing the drivers and their supporters for mass picket lines and rallies.

In the absence of effective picketing or public demonstrations of support, the initial handful of scabs steadily grew. By the end of the strike, nearly one-third of the cabs were on the streets.

One of the most important questions facing the guild was labor affiliation. Several national unions expressed interest in taking the guild in, but the guild leaders rejected any consideration of affiliation until after a contract had been signed. Some viewed it as almost a matter of principle to remain

small and independent.

For an isolated group of workers in a marginal industry, starting off with no material resources, this tactical blunder led to harsh results.

The guild's lack of broader union affiliation let many conservative union officials off the hook, giving them an excuse not to support the strike.

The Central Labor Council refused to endorse the strike. Taxi mechanics, members of the machinists union, crossed the drivers' picket line every day. The Teamsters ordered their fuel drivers to continue deliveries to the struck companies.

An important initial step in recovering from this defeat will be for the guild to seek affiliation with a national union. Ending its self-imposed isolation from the rest of the labor movement is essential to the future of the taxi workers union.

Protest L.A. cop murder of Black youth

By Dave Jerome

LOS ANGELES—Protest is mounting here in the aftermath of the shooting death of Barry Evans, a well-known Black community activist.

Evans, seventeen, was shot to death February 10 in front of the project house where he lived by a Los Angeles cop, Arthur Rumble. The killing took place in Pacoima, a predominantly Black community in the San Fernando Valley.

Barry and his older brother Andre were known to many in the area for their work with Unity Workshop, a cultural and counseling center.

The Workshop counsels many young people who have had run-ins with the police, and has been confronted with an increasingly hostile attitude by the cops.

One year ago James Townsend, a close friend of Barry Evans and also a volunteer at the Unity Workshop, was shot and killed by cops in an alleged burglary attempt. At that time the Workshop demanded an investigation of Townsend's death.

In the Evans case, two cops say they had gone to the housing project to investigate a burglary, and were "at-

tacked" by Evans for some unexplained reason on the way in. Evans was not under suspicion for the alleged burglary.

The cops claim that during the struggle the youth managed to get the



best of both of them and began applying a "choke hold" on one of them, forcing them to shoot in self-defense.

Witnesses tell a different story.

E.H. Smith, a private security guard at the housing project, says that when Evans was shot he was not close enough to either of the cops to have a hold on them.

Another witness, a white woman who was formerly married to a policeman, told the *Los Angeles Sentinel* that she had "always given the police the benefit of the doubt." But she went on to say that after unsuccessfully pleading with the police to stop beating Evans, she saw them shoot the youth while he was down.

Linda Ferguson, an attorney associated with the National Conference of Black Lawyers, has been collecting depositions from other witnesses to the Evans killing in preparation for a wrongful-death suit to be filed against the city on behalf of Andre Evans.

The first response of the Pacoima Black community to the shooting was a February 14 march from the Unity Workshop to the police station.

Community residents and Workshop members have formed an organization called People United and are demanding that the two cops be removed from the force and indicted for the murder of Evans.

Support for their demands is growing. A number of Black clergy recently met in San Fernando, voted to support the committee, and donated funds. Teachers and students at San Fernando High School, where Evans had been a student, took up a collection for the family.

In addition, San Fernando La Raza Unida party city council candidates Marshall Diaz and Xenaro Ayala released a statement condemning the shooting.

Meanwhile, a city-wide coalition including prominent Black clergy, the Student Coalition Against Racism, the NAACP, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference-West called a public rally for March 19 to protest police brutality.

The focus of the rally was to be the cases of Evans and Jimmy Blando. Blando, a young Chicano, was recently shot and killed by cops in a market in the Pico-Union area of Los Angeles.

Muslims convicted in S.F. 'Zebra' frame-up

By José Pérez

Four members of the Nation of Islam were convicted in San Francisco March 13 of the so-called "Zebra" killings, in a racist frame-up concocted by former Mayor Joseph Alioto in an unsuccessful 1974 attempt to ride a wave of anti-Black hysteria to the state governorship.

In mid-April 1974, San Francisco cops launched massive dragnet raids

in the Black community, purportedly to find the Black man who was allegedly responsible for a dozen bizarre slayings in a few months.

On May 1, in predawn raids involving 100 heavily armed cops, seven Blacks were arrested. In sensational statements and leaks, then-Mayor Alioto dribbled out the story to eager reporters.

The seven were part of "a vicious

ring of murderers called the Death Angels," he said. The Death Angels, 2,000 strong nationally, were a faction of the Nation of Islam dedicated to fomenting race war. They had carried out scores of executions in California alone.

The story began to unravel even before all details were out. Four of the seven arrested were released within a couple of days because police didn't have even a shred of evidence. Police officials all over the state disavowed Alioto's tale, one commenting, for example, "We don't know what the hell the mayor is talking about." The FBI refused to do a national investigation. No evidence has since emerged to verify the existence of the "Death Angels."

Nevertheless, the sensational stories continued, leading a judge to say that those accused "would never get a fair trial."

A grand jury indicted the three remaining from the May 1 raids and another Muslim who was already in prison for an unrelated charge. During the hearings it came out that the state's case was based on the testimony of Anthony Harris, ex-convict and former mental patient. Harris

admitted to having been part of the murder plots, and gave detailed testimony on the functioning of the "Death Angels."

In a December 1 statement, Harris disavowed his grand jury testimony, saying he had been cajoled, bribed, and threatened by government officials to give it.

The trial began on March 3, 1975. Harris changed his story again, claiming that his December 1 statement was false. Under questioning, he admitted having lied to the grand jury on some matters, and gave testimony that was contradictory and did not agree with that of other state witnesses. He was given immunity from prosecution and stood to collect a \$30,000 reward if the four were convicted.

The four men—Manuel Moore, J.C. Simon, Larry Green, and Jessie Lee Cooks—face at least two life terms as a result of their convictions on various counts of conspiracy, murder, assault, kidnapping, and rape.

The chief attorney for the four, Clinton White, said the "verdict is contrary to the evidence and contrary to the law" and said motions for a new trial and appeals will be filed.



Blacks protesting racist dragnet confront Mayor Joseph Alioto (second from right). Racist hysteria whipped up by Alioto has now led to conviction of four Blacks on testimony of paid informant who admits he lied.

N.J. transport workers fight for living wage

By Jim Kendrick

NEWARK—Following an overwhelming strike vote of better than three to one, the 3,400 employees of New Jersey's largest bus company walked off the job March 9 to defend the open-ended cost-of-living clause in their contract.

Transport of New Jersey (TNJ) has demanded that the workers give up the protection against inflation that has been part of their contracts since the 1950s.

In exchange, the company is offering a 6 percent increase in pay spread over a two-year contract.

During prestrike negotiations Amalgamated Transit Union Division 819 had asked for a 5 percent wage increase, maintenance of the present cost-of-living protection, and improvements in fringe benefits. Union members currently make between \$5.46 and \$6.96 an hour.

The drivers, mechanics, and clerks see the cost-of-living clause, which grants wage increases proportional to

the rate of inflation no matter how high that rate goes, as the key issue. "No one likes a strike," a union leader said, "but there is a principle involved here."

The strike is 100 percent effective, shutting down the company. TNJ carries 450,000 passengers daily, including two-thirds of the daily bus riders within the state and nearly half of those commuting to New York.

Heading up the antiunion drive is TNJ President John Gilhooly, who is called the "hatchet man" by workers picketing garages in this area because of his reputation as an "efficiency expert" in transportation.

Gilhooly pleads poverty, saying TNJ might go out of business under "a naked principle of 'the sky's the limit' cost-of-living concept." However, the company's purported fiscal woes didn't stop Gilhooly from accepting a 21 percent hike in salary last year, raising his pay to \$80,000 a year.

Working hand in glove with Gilhooly is Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne, a

"hatchet man" himself who last month announced savage budget cuts in nearly every area of public services.

TNJ, although a private firm run for profit, receives 30 percent of its operating funds from the state government. Despite the obvious plunder of the public treasury involved in such a setup, Byrne absolutely rules out a state take-over of the bus service.

In addition, Byrne denounced the strikers' demand for protection against inflation. He said the state would wind up paying for such a contract provision and the fiscal crisis did not permit this.

The struggle by transit workers in New Jersey could be a long one. In 1972, the union was out eleven weeks before a settlement was finally reached. Today the stakes are higher. As one striker observed, "Byrne fears that if the drivers win the cost-of-living clause it will set a powerful example for other working people in New Jersey."

The only candidate for public office

in this state that has spoken out in support of the strike is Larry Stewart, Socialist Workers party nominee for Congress from the Tenth Congressional District.

In a statement released here March 11, Stewart blasted the claims of "no money," demanding that the company "open their books to public inspection to show how much of our tax money goes to TNJ's profit makers."

He added that TNJ should be "nationalized and run by the transit workers" on the basis of fulfilling the need for transportation rather than making profits for the rich.

He said money to finance public transportation can be found in "the more than \$100 billion the federal government now squanders on the war budget."

Stewart added that the behavior of Byrne showed that "labor has no friends in the Democratic and Republican parties." He urged the union movement to launch a labor party to counter the two big-business parties.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MARCH 26, 1976

Merely press slanders?

'Guardian' hails forced migrations in Cambodia

By Steve Clark

Reports from Cambodian refugees housed in camps along the Thai border indicate that the Khmer Rouge staged a massive transfer of the Cambodian population during the last several months of 1975. Many Cambodians are said to have fallen ill and died under the harsh conditions of the involuntary journey, which was said to be aimed at increasing the agricultural labor force in the fertile Battambang Province.

This was the second such forced migration since the fall of Washington's puppet Lon Nol regime last April. No sooner had the Khmer Rouge's peasant-based army marched into Phnompenh than it launched a summary evacuation of the city. Even the hospitals were emptied of their patients, as the entire population of the capital—soon followed by other cities—poured into the countryside.

As in the more recent migration, death, hunger, and suffering were the result.

For the Maoist-leaning U.S. weekly *Guardian*, however, these events are merely "press slanders" against the

the CIA. These refugees report obviously well-rehearsed stories about 'communist atrocities.'"

In the article, the two authors single out dispatches by *New York Times* correspondent David Andelman, the *Christian Science Monitor's* Daniel Southerland, H.D.S. Greenway of the *Washington Post*, and Peter Collins of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

Accounts of the recent forced migration have also been filed by Jon Swain of the London *Sunday Times*, the *Manchester Guardian's* Martin Woollcott, and others.

Hildebrand and Hing complain, "None of these stories was based upon direct observation."

Closed borders

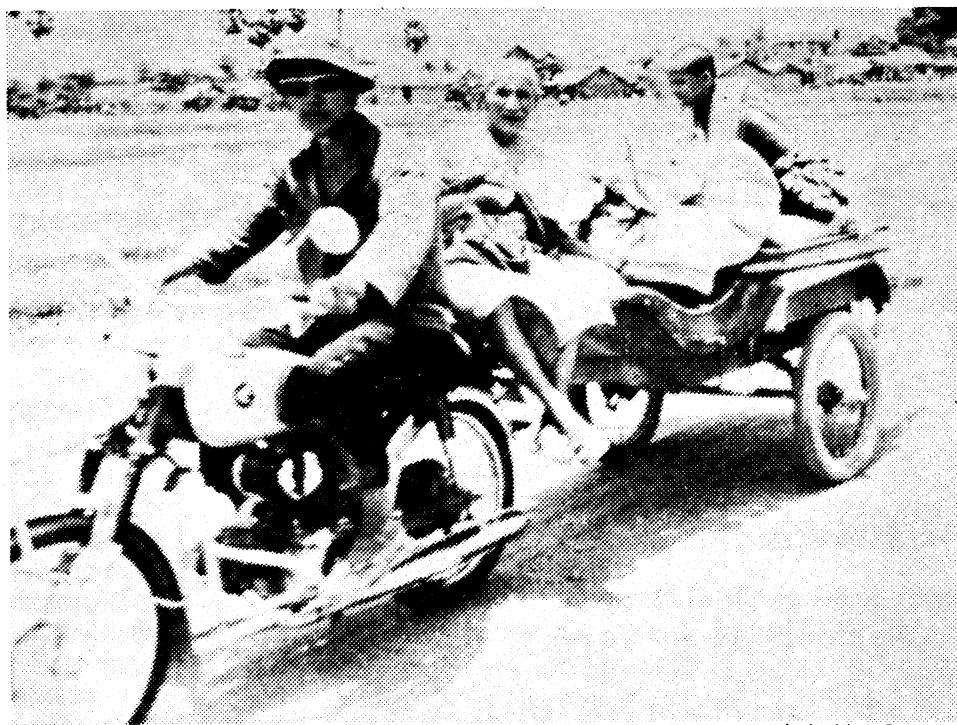
They fail to mention, however, that such "direct observation" is made impossible by the Khmer Rouge's ban on all foreign correspondents and most other foreign visitors.

Furthermore, the April 1975 migrations were witnessed firsthand by several correspondents, among them Sydney H. Schanberg of the *New York Times*, *Le Monde's* Patrice de Beer, and Jon Swain. These reporters were in Phnompenh during its evacuation, and they observed the evacuation of other Cambodian cities as the Khmer Rouge transported them out of the country by truck.

Schanberg reported at the time: "In Phnom Penh two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence—walking, bicycling, pushing cars that had run out of fuel, covering the roads like a human carpet, bent under sacks of belongings hastily thrown together when the heavily armed peasant soldiers came and told them to leave immediately. . . ."

"Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went—limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds. . . ."

To bolster their contention that such reports are "CIA concoctions," Hildebrand and Hing point out that two of the recently interviewed refugees were former functionaries of the corrupt Lon Nol dictatorship. "On the whole," the *Guardian* writers said, "the character of those interviewed indicates they comprised privileged elements of the old regime or actually fought against the patriotic forces."



Phnompenh residents heading toward countryside last April

Indochina Chronicle

This assertion is a conscious distortion of the news accounts, which describe other refugees as former factory workers, farmers, hospital and dispensary employees, and students.

Hildebrand and Hing are apparently aware that the correspondents who filed these reports cannot simply be dismissed as a band of rabid reactionaries out to discredit the Khmer Rouge at all costs. They suggest that some "legitimate" journalists "may not realize" that they have fallen victim to an intricate CIA fabrication.

The truth is that some of the correspondents were even quite sympathetic toward the problems facing the new Cambodian regime. For example, Martin Woollcott reported February 29: "The way in which the new Government has yanked a distorted economy into some kind of health is impressive. Refugees who complain of privation and coercion often do not realize that, without a determined Government, Cambodia could have faced starvation and chaos last summer."

Washington's atrocities

In addition, Hildebrand and Hing are wrong in stating that "none of the recent spate of atrocity accounts reported to Americans bother to take note that Cambodia has just emerged from a devastating war of aggression and destruction imposed by the U.S."

In fact, most of the accounts point to this as one of the major problems facing the new government.

Nearly 10 percent of the Cambodian population was slaughtered during Washington's five-year assault on the country. The dams, reservoirs, and irrigation networks essential for rice production were practically wiped out by U.S. terror bombing, and large tracts of farmland were also destroyed.

Several correspondents described the scenes they witnessed as they traveled to the Thai border last April after their expulsions from Cambodia. Swain reported on the condition of one farming village:

"The war damage here, as every-

where else we saw, is total. Not a bridge is standing, hardly a house. I am told most villagers have spent the war years living semi-permanently underground in earth bunkers to escape the bombing. . . .

"The entire countryside has been churned up by American B-52 bomb craters, whole towns and villages razed. So far, I have seen not one intact pagoda."

This was the legacy of imperialism in Cambodia and of the "agrarian policy" of the puppet Lon Nol government.

Faced with the wholesale destruction of indigenous agriculture, it is undeniable that the Khmer Rouge faced an awesome task in merely guaranteeing that the Cambodian population would be spared the disaster of starvation. The irrigation system had to be restored, and rice yields had to be adequate to feed the country.

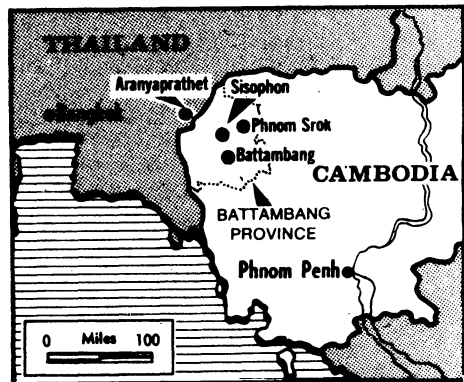
But must such problems be solved by brutal, forced mobilizations of the masses? Revolutionary socialists say no. Hildebrand and Hing, on the other hand, imply that the answer is yes.

"Andelman's account of the 'new migration,'" they said, "reveals his ignorance of the fact that for centuries Cambodian peasants have moved to different parts of the country to harvest rice or to preserve large catches of fish. . . . The *Times* reporter cannot understand that the new population movements may be in the people's interest and carried out rationally in the context of a national economic plan."

Be that as it may, the migration enforced at gunpoint by the Khmer Rouge peasant army last April was never explained to the Cambodian people. Still less were they asked to express their opinion on the matter, or to participate in planning how to meet the country's pressing economic problems.

When the Khmer Rouge forces first marched into Phnompenh last April, they enjoyed tremendous popularity.

Continued on page 21



Map indicates Battambang Province, destination of latest forced migration.

Khmer Rouge regime. "The U.S. has inspired a propaganda campaign attempting to discredit Democratic Cambodia—with the apparent aim of trying to sabotage the country's economy," opens an article by George Hildebrand and Sokhom Hing featured on the back page of the February 25 *Guardian*.

Hildebrand and Hing continue: "The current propaganda follows a classic device of planting stories among legitimate journalists who may not realize that the 'refugees' they interview have been carefully selected beforehand by

Stalinist or revolutionary

What is the nature of the Portuguese CP?

By David Frankel

At the end of February, leaders of the Italian, British, and French Communist parties spoke at the congress of the Soviet CP in Moscow. They claimed to favor democratic rights and tried to convey an impression of independence from the Kremlin, although none of them brought up the touchy subject of repression inside the Soviet Union.

The speeches in Moscow were a sequel to earlier actions, the most important being those taken at the congress of the French CP in early February. In search of broader electoral support, the French Stalinists declared their allegiance to "pluralist democracy," claimed that they were seeking a gradualist road to a "Communism under the French colors," and tried to dissociate themselves from the persecution of dissidents in the USSR.

These moves have led to speculation in the American capitalist press as to whether these Stalinist parties have changed their character, giving up the program of socialist revolution. In fact, as a previous article pointed out (see "World Outlook," March 19, p.19), the Stalinist parties ceased being revolutionary long ago—they have practiced class collaborationism for more than forty years. Several of the West European Stalinist parties have simply found their previous revolutionary rhetoric inconvenient and have sought to adjust their public image to one they think will fit better with their electoral wheeling and dealing in the bourgeois parliamentary system.

It is ironic that while the illusions held by many persons in the revolutionary character of the French and Italian Communist parties have been destroyed by recent events, the last two years have seen the opposite process in regard to the Portuguese Stalinists. After all, the French and Italian Stalinists are still trying to win seats in capitalist governments; the Portuguese CP has just played a central role in actually administering a capitalist government and preventing its overthrow by the masses.

A closer look at how the Portuguese Stalinists reacted to the revolutionary upsurge in their country shows that they proceeded from the same political concepts as those followed by the Stalinists in France and Italy. In Italy, the Communist party calls for its inclusion in a coalition government with the dominant capitalist party, the Christian Democrats. In France, the Stalinists call for a capitalist coalition government that would include the Socialist party and the bourgeois Radical party.

French CP head Georges Marchais, speaking at his party's recent con-

gress, indicated that Gaullists willing to participate would also be welcome. He called for a "union of the French people" that would include "all forces of the nation active against the barons of large capital."

In Portugal, the unwavering strategy of the Stalinists was to join in a government with the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), the dominant bourgeois political formation in the country after the overthrow of the dictatorship.

Cunhal's return

The basic perspective of Portuguese Stalinism was stated by CP head Alvaro Cunhal when he arrived in Lisbon on April 30, 1974, only five days after the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship. Cunhal stressed the necessity "to unite the Armed Forces Movement and the popular masses."

He called for "a government representative of all democratic forces," and was answered by his assembled supporters with the chant of "Cunhal into the government."

Fresh from "normalized" Czechoslovakia, whose invasion by Soviet troops he had supported in 1968, Cunhal assured his listeners that a government such as he advocated would be "the best guarantee of genuinely free elections."

Cunhal was taken into the government as strikes spread throughout the country. *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann described the role of the Stalinists in a May 29, 1974, report from Lisbon. He said, "The Government and members of the military junta, which keeps supervising the activities of the civilian department chiefs, have during the last few days



CUNHAL: Has pursued consistent class-collaborationist line toward bourgeois MFA regime since downfall of Caetano dictatorship in 1974.

been almost permanently in session to grapple with the labor conflicts.

"A Communist, Labor Minister Avelino A. Pacheco Gonçalves, is in the forefront of attempts to settle the strikes. He is assisted by the party's secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, who is a Minister without Portfolio in charge of labor matters."

In their activity as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the Portuguese Stalinists and the labor federation, which they were leading, sponsored a demonstration in Lisbon on June 1, 1974, under the slogan, "We say No to strikes."

Just like the French CP when it was backing a popular-front government in 1936, the Portuguese Stalinists denounced strikes as "fascist inspired."

This policy was explained by Portuguese CP leader Catarina Mendes in the July 1974 issue of *World Marxist Review*, the North American edition of the Prague journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

"Our Party stresses the limited nature of the Provisional Government's objectives," Mendes said. While favoring "a number of reforms," Mendes insisted that "to expect such a widely based administration to pursue

a popular-government policy or, as some would like, a 'socialist orientation' policy, would mean disregarding the real situation. It would only cause friction between the component parts of the present alliance, leading to its split and disintegration, which would open the way for counter-revolution."

An overall outline of the program of the Portuguese CP was given by Cunhal in his report to the party's seventh congress in October 1974. The need for the working class to restrain its economic demands—a theme of capitalist governments from Australia to Argentina—was a major part of the report.

Cunhal warned the workers to "refrain from demands demagogically suggested by reactionaries or pseudo-revolutionary 'Leftists' who want to create impossible situations, provoke clashes and drive a wedge between the working people and the provisional government."

'Antimonopoly' rhetoric

Aside from the demands of the workers, Cunhal's main target was the monopolists and landowners—never the capitalist system as a whole. For example, he argued:

The main threat to freedom is posed by economic power hindering the country's progress and serving as a political and financial basis for counter-revolution. The monopolies and latifundists resist the new democratic process. . . .

If we want to preserve and strengthen the regime of freedom and democracy we must curb and then abolish the economic power of monopolists and latifundium owners. The state should participate ever more actively in the solution of economic problems without prejudice to private non-monopoly enterprise. It should proceed to nationalize key economic branches and transfer the latifunda to the peasants.

This type of antimonopoly rhetoric is common to every Stalinist party. The Spanish CP, for example, calls for a phase of "political and social democracy or antimonopolist and antilatifundist democracy."

The French CP would exclude only "the small caste which dominates the economy and the state," "the barons of large capital," from its "union of the French people," while the American



Kremlin leader Leonid Brezhnev addresses recent Soviet Communist party congress. Speeches at congress by leaders of Italian, British, and French CPs led to speculation in capitalist media as to whether these parties have lost their Stalinist character.

CP has long called for an "antimonopoly coalition."

In summing up, Cunhal listed eight basic objectives of the Portuguese CP. Socialism was not among them, although "freeing Portugal from the shackles of imperialism" was. Since Portugal itself is an imperialist country, the purpose of this demagogic demand could only be to direct the attention of the masses toward foreign rather than Portuguese capitalism.

Finally, at this seventh congress the Portuguese Stalinists formally deleted the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" from their program, thus beating the French Stalinists by more than a year.

Language shifts left

Although its program remained unchanged, the rhetoric of the Portuguese CP shifted to the left in order to keep in tune with the deepening mass radicalization, especially after the March 11, 1975, coup attempt by Gen. António de Spínola. The demagoguery of the Stalinists was aimed in particular against those who demanded democratic rights and defended them against the capitalist military government.

Perhaps the most infamous example of this type of Stalinist demagoguery was Cunhal's interview with Oriana Fallaci. Having done poorly in the April 25, 1975, elections, he told the interviewer, "... I care nothing for elections. Nothing!"

This contempt for the rights of the masses was covered up with supposedly revolutionary phrases, such as the statement, "... Portugal will never be a country of democratic freedoms and monopolies."

The French Stalinists also showed themselves quite adept at this game. As early as January 27, 1975, the French Stalinist daily *l'Humanité* said:

Democracy for what? For whom? Will it be merely a semblance of democracy leaving the structures of a lingering past intact and serving as a facade for maintaining an economic system inherited from Salazar and capable of being used as a spring-board for a leap back? Or will it be genuine democracy having its source in the people and deriving its vigor from them, a democracy conceived and put into practice with the aid and participation of working-class and popular forces, in close cooperation with the Armed Forces Movement?

As their record shows, the Stalinists have never cared about democracy—neither in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, nor in Portugal. Cunhal's speeches were intended to help provide a leftist façade in the CP leadership's factional struggle with the Social Democrats. At issue was which of the mass reformist workers parties would serve as the primary helper to the military regime and the capitalist system in Portugal.

An example of how the Stalinists tried to cloak their sordid aims in seemingly revolutionary verbiage is

the following excerpt from an editorial in the May 28, 1975, issue of *Avante!*, the newspaper of the Portuguese CP:

This attitude [of the Socialist party] ... throws into relief the existence of two contradictory dynamics: One, electoralist, aims at setting up a bourgeois-parliamentary democracy of a Social Democratic type; the other, drawing its support from the revolutionary process embodied in the alliance between the people and the MFA aims at the democratic revolution on the road to socialism. The electoralism is irreconcilable with the revolutionary process and could even wind up destroying it in the short term.

The editorial went on to call for the "strictest union with the MFA" and "workers 'control' in the nationalized state enterprises, the formation of agricultural cooperatives and of peasant organs for agrarian reform ... and the proliferation of workers commissions, tenants commissions, popular assemblies, and other varied forms of popular organs. ..."

Centrists take the bait

The majority of the centrist groups in the world socialist movement accepted Cunhal's propaganda at face value. A typical case was the *Guardian* newspaper in the United States, a perpetual fellow traveler currently identified with Maoism.

Wilfred Burchett said in the June 11, 1975, *Guardian*, "The PCP—regardless of what some of its critics say—has not shown itself to be a run-of-the-mill revisionist party."

In Portugal itself, the Stalinists were able to turn the gullibility of most of the smaller groups on their left into account in their factional struggle against the Social Democrats. This was the case during the take-over of the newspaper *República*. An organ identified with the Socialist party was silenced—a development that benefited

the capitalist MFA regime as well as the Stalinists by setting a precedent for suppression of freedom of the press.

A further triumph for the Stalinists came when seven groups on the Portuguese left signed an accord with them on August 25, 1975, which listed both the Portuguese CP and the ruling MFA as part of the "revolutionary" left. The confusion about the real nature of Stalinism, and the failure to understand its counterrevolutionary objectives, led these groups into supporting the capitalist government. At the same time, the Social Democracy was called the twin of fascism. In fact, from the point of view of its reformist politics, the Social Democracy is more like the twin of Stalinism.

The Stalinists were always careful to reaffirm their reformist perspective, even when the illusions of the centrists were at the highest pitch. An article by a Portuguese CP leader, Carlos Costa, in the August 1975 issue of *World Marxist Review* is indicative of how the Stalinists bent to the pressure of the mass radicalization while nonetheless reaffirming their counterrevolutionary course.

Costa begins with arguments calculated to give him a "revolutionary" aura:

For us Communists freedom is not just the right to express one's aspirations, set up organizations, freely hold meetings, and so on. Freedom for the working peoples means life without exploitation, without having to work for others. "Democracy for all" in a society dominated by private ownership of the means of production is nominal equality based on actual inequality. ...

All Portuguese democrats agree that socialist development is the only way for Portugal if it is to overcome its economic difficulties, guarantee democratic progress and freedom denied to the people for 50 years, and raise the standard of life.

Having given verbal approval to the

need for socialism, Costa proceeds to relegate this perspective to the dim future. The immediate stage, he argues, is one of a democratic revolution within the "anti-monopoly and anti-latifundium" framework advocated by Stalinists the world over. "The country's leadership does not propose to nationalize the whole economy, nor is it against private enterprise," Costa insists.

According to his view, the problem facing the "national-democratic revolution" in Portugal is that "production is decreasing in many industries, due often to economic subversion. Strikes provoked by reactionaries or 'leftists' sometimes paralyze key industries."

Costa quotes with approval an appeal by the MFA to "work better to boost output in the main branches of industry and agriculture." The whole point of the article is to push the military government's campaign for labor discipline and speedup. Costa argues:

Neither the interests of the working people, nor the interests of social change can be served by artificially aggravating the forms of struggle, by attempts to incite a wave of strikes, which in the present conditions would be directed not against the bosses, not against reaction, but against progressive measures, against the democratic forces, against the Provisional Government and the AFM.

Support from the Kremlin

In the Kremlin's view, the MFA regime (with the Portuguese CP playing a leading role in it) was a major asset in dealings with the American imperialists, whereas an actual revolution would have been a diplomatic disaster. Moscow strongly supported the line of the Portuguese CP, while taking pains to point out that no challenge to the status quo in Europe was intended. For example, an article in the August 19, 1975, issue of *Pravda* (cited in *Soviet News*, September 2, 1975), explained:

"Portugal has proclaimed its intention of pursuing an independent foreign policy open to co-operation with all countries of the world. At the same time, the new regime pledged itself to honour Portugal's international treaties and commitments, including those relating to membership of NATO."

This policy of participation in NATO, completely supported by the Kremlin bureaucracy, is the same as that followed by the Italian CP. Those who were taken in by the revolutionary verbiage of the Portuguese CP did not allow for the ability of Stalinist parties to shift their stance according to varying tactical needs without changing their essential character. The same mistake is made by those who believe that the French, Italian, British, or Spanish Communist parties have changed in character because they have claimed to be independent from Moscow.



June 1974 rally of striking Lisbon postal workers. Portuguese CP said strike was 'fascist inspired' and mobilized goon squads to attack picketers.

...Cambodia

Continued from page 19

According to the reports of Western journalists, thousands of Cambodians poured into the streets to greet the victorious peasant army.

The energies released by the downfall of the Lon Nol clique provided the

opportunity for a truly democratic mobilization of the Cambodian masses to begin the urgent tasks of postwar reconstruction of the country. Instead, this mobilization of the urban population was viewed by the Khmer Rouge as a threat. Literally within hours the jubilation of the Phnompenh workers, artisans, and students was transformed into misery and suffering.

Cambodia's new leaders have adopted as their model the bureaucratic policies first used by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union, and later applied by Mao Tsetung in China. These antidemocratic regimes stifle the creative

initiative of the key social forces that can move toward a socialist society: the urban workers in alliance with the poor peasants.

The Khmer Rouge leaders are also locked into the framework of Stalin's conception of "socialism in one country." The new Phnompenh regime has carried this doctrine to such an extreme that it has even refused to accept outside aid from any source other than China.

Even the largest conceivable yearly rice crops cannot provide Cambodia with the wealth necessary for the full-scale industrialization essential to the

construction of socialism. Ultimately this can only be achieved through worldwide socialist cooperation.

But a revolutionary leadership in Cambodia could put the country on the road to a socialist society by pursuing an internationalist perspective and instituting democratic economic and social planning by the workers and peasants themselves.

The policies of the Khmer Rouge seem far removed from such a program. Instead, these policies follow the bureaucratic and narrow nationalist pattern characteristic of Stalinism the world over.

A debate among revolutionists

What program and strategy for Mexico's elections?

By Fred Feldman

A discussion about what policy to take in the upcoming Mexican presidential elections scheduled for July has developed among Trotskyist groups in that country.

A coalition has been formed to challenge Mexico's ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party). The bloc is fielding Valentín Campa, leader of Mexico's Communist party, against PRI nominee José López Portillo.

Since Mexico's election laws effectively bar any but officially sanctioned opposition candidates from the ballot, Campa will be obliged to run a write-in campaign.

The coalition consists of the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM—Mexican Communist party), the Movimiento de Organización Socialista (MOS—Movement for Socialist Organization), and the Tendencia Militante (TM—Militant Tendency) of the Liga Socialista (LS—Socialist League), one of two public factions that emerged from a December convention of that group. The Socialist League is a sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

Common platform

In announcing the bloc on January 12, the three groups issued a platform that was published in the January 16-31 issue of the Militant Tendency's newspaper, *El Socialista*.

The other public faction of the Socialist League, the Fracción Bolchevique Leninista (FBL—Bolshevik-Leninist Faction), has criticized the Militant Tendency for forming a bloc with the Communist party on a common program.

The FBL did not oppose supporting Campa in the elections. "We certainly do think it is valid at such times to support a candidate of a workers party against the candidate of the bourgeoisie . . .," the FBL wrote in the February 1-15 issue of its journal, which at that time was also named *El Socialista*. (To eliminate this source of confusion, the FBL recently renamed its periodical *Clave*.)

"That is why at this time we support the candidacy of Valentín Campa against that of López Portillo . . .," the FBL added. "At the same time we will explain how incorrect and dangerous his program and line are."

"What we cannot do is negotiate our program or mix our banner with that of other nonrevolutionary parties in an electoral front. . . ."

"For socialist participation in the elections—the terrain of the class enemy—to be fruitful, the socialist program, and what the organization



Socialist League meeting last spring to announce stance toward upcoming national elections. Banner reads, 'For a workers and peasants government.'

that holds it up represents, must be expressed openly, clearly, and sharply. We must also counterpose this program to the reformist program of Valentín Campa and his party, and to that of other organizations, as well as to that of the bourgeois government."

The problems posed are illustrated by the common program of the PCM-MOS-TM bloc. To achieve a common program with the Mexican Stalinists, the TM had to sign statements that directly contradict the basic program of the Socialist League.

PCM: Stalinist party

For instance, the Socialist League regards the PCM as a Stalinist party, based on its long record of class collaboration with the Mexican bourgeoisie in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. The platform, however, holds that "the organizations that have united together to act in this electoral process do not hide their socialist objectives, nor their revolutionary method to achieve them."

Commenting on this declaration in the February 9, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Joseph Hansen wrote, "From that paragraph alone, one can surmise why the Mexican Stalinists favored adding the name of the Trotskyist Liga Socialista to the electoral platform. The worst problem facing the Mexican Stalinists is the contempt with which they are regarded by the workers for their decades of class collaborationism, sellouts, and betrayals. A left cover offered by the Trotskyists with their reputation for integrity

is a windfall the Stalinists hardly expected."

The FBL presented evidence that the PCM is still actively pursuing a class-collaborationist popular-front policy. It pointed out that the PCM "at first attempted to initiate a process that would lead to the formation of an electoral front that would group the workers organizations together with the supposed 'progressive forces' and 'partisans of democracy' of the bourgeoisie and the government."

"Upon seeing their attempt at implementing this policy frustrated for this election period, the PCM adjusted it to try to attract what forces it could indeed win over to its politics."

The platform itself lends support to this analysis. On the one hand, it proposes "united action by the masses" to fight for "immediate demands." Over and above this, however, the platform states that "at the same time, [the three organizations signing the platform] propose the following: to advance the unity of the forces that support democracy and socialism, with the aim of increasing their political weight and mass influence . . . in short, to contribute to the organization and development of an autonomous political force capable of challenging the bourgeoisie for power, defeating it, and building Mexican society on a new basis, without capitalist wage slavery. . . ."

The FBL asks, "What is meant by this famous 'unity of the forces that support democracy and socialism,' this 'autonomous political force' that is supposed to be capable of wrenching power from the bourgeoisie, which they propose to promote outside of the unity in action of the masses?"

"Does it refer to the PCM's conception of the collaboration of workers organizations with 'progressive' bourgeois forces in a 'popular front'? . . . Or does it refer instead to the political unity of the workers in an organization with a revolutionary program?"

The references to socialism in the program do not contradict the PCM's popular-front orientation. On the contrary, the popular fronts engineered by the Stalinists in Chile, Uruguay, and France made use of such rhetoric to

attract militant workers.

Politically conscious Mexican workers are likely to be puzzled by the program. What does it mean? Has the PCM endorsed the class-struggle program of the Socialist League? Or has the Militant Tendency of the Socialist League adopted the popular-front strategy of the PCM? Or do both organizations still hold to their previous positions?

'Peaceful coexistence'

The section of the platform entitled "A Foreign Policy of Independence and Peace" hews still more closely to Stalinist requirements, going so far as to endorse "peaceful coexistence among the various states." As Joseph Hansen pointed out, "'Peaceful coexistence' is the Stalinist code word for class collaborationism."

This section of the platform includes the statement that "the Liga Socialista differs with some points in this section." However, the TM did not state which points were in dispute.

The character of the common platform is further assured by the fact that its main interpreter will be the Stalinist presidential candidate, Valentín Campa.

United-front proposal

Despite its criticisms of the electoral bloc and its program, the FBL has proposed a united-front campaign to overturn the undemocratic election laws that exclude Campa from the ballot.

Its course contrasts to that of the electoral bloc, which proposes no other common action besides campaigning for Campa.

A third Trotskyist organization, the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI—Internationalist Communist Group), also commented on the PCM-led coalition. While describing the Campa candidacy as a "positive advance for the workers and revolutionary movement" as opposed to the capitalist PRI, an editorial by Antonio Guerra in the January issue of the *Bandera Roja* states:

"But the GCI cannot accept or support the reformist platform with which the PCM, the MOS and the LS have now launched" the campaign.

Guerra did not oppose in principle signing common political programs with opponents of revolutionary Marxism, however. On the contrary, he stated: "The GCI calls on the left organizations and on the workers groups and revolutionary unions to raise a Democratic-Workers-Anticapitalist Platform to call on the workers and democratic sectors to vote for it and for the revolutionary unity of the working class. . . . We call for the formation of a front of the revolutionary left as a means of propaganda and implementation of the workers platform." (Emphasis in original.)

In evaluating the controversy among Mexican revolutionists, Joseph Hansen concluded that the PCM-MOS-TM bloc "can be characterized as a blueprint for a 'broad front' like the one worked up by the Stalinists in Uruguay behind the candidacy of General Seregni. It is an 'incipient' or 'embryonic' popular front that the Stalinists hope to spread on a national scale in anticipation of the appearance of a Mexican Seregni, Allende, or Perón, whom Campa, of course, would be the first to hail."

Coming in the March 29

Intercontinental Press

Anaxagoras was banished from ancient Athens for declaring that the moon was not divine but made of stone.

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In fascist Germany, the heretical literatures of Marxism and Liberalism were consigned to the bonfire.

The fact is that the jailing of philoso-

phers by the Stalinist regimes follows in a long tradition of muzzling philosophy.

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'Working women's issue'

Nat'l CLUW backs May 16 ERA march

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—At its March 6-7 National Executive Board meeting here, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) voted to support the May 16 national rally for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois.

"We hereby enthusiastically endorse the May 16 Illinois ERA Mobilization and encourage those chapters in neighboring states to send a delegation to the May 16 Mobilization," states the resolution that was passed.

"The ERA is a working women's issue," it points out. "It is an issue of equal pay, increased job opportunities, and fair medical sick leave provisions."

CLUW's endorsement of May 16 gives an important impetus to efforts

to get labor behind the action. With this resolution, CLUW activists can go on a campaign to get the unions to support May 16 and mobilize their memberships for the rally. Local CLUW chapters can play a significant role in organizing labor contingents for May 16, and outreach activities leading up to the march.

Sixty delegates attended this meeting of the National Executive Board, the first since the NEB was elected at the December 1975 CLUW convention.

At the December convention, an important amendment was added to CLUW's constitution, stating that "until final ratification of the ERA is won, CLUW will make the fight for the ERA a priority through a mass-action and educational campaign."

Many delegates to the NEB saw an important opportunity to put this motion into action by getting the unions behind the May 16 rally. The National Organization for Women (NOW) initiated the call for May 16 and is urging all supporters of the ERA around the country to join in.

A discussion of how CLUW and the union movement as a whole should fight for the ERA began at the meeting of the NEB's ERA Task Force the evening of March 6. A resolution had been prepared by the organizers of the task force taking up the general reasons why unions should back the ERA.

Liz McPike, statewide coordinator of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Illinois, took the floor to say that while she agreed with this resolution, it lacked an effective strategy for winning the ERA. Working women must be mobilized in action in this fight, she said. This is CLUW's main job.

Sarah Lovell, the delegate from the International Typographical Union, agreed and proposed that CLUW go on record in support of May 16. Lovell pointed out that if the tremendous numbers and resources of the labor movement were thrown behind the action, it would have a truly powerful effect.

Edie Van Horn, one of the United Auto Workers delegates from Detroit, also called for support to the May 16 demonstration, urging a "mass mobilization of working women" on that day.

Some delegates opposed May 16. Olga Madar, president of CLUW and a retired UAW vice-president, said she feared that CLUW's identity would be submerged in an action called by NOW. She added that CLUW's national leadership should not determine the activities of local chapters. Others opposed to May 16 said they felt lobbying and electoral work would be more effective than a big, national mobilization of the unions for the ERA.

Responding to these arguments, Van Horn pointed out that during the 1960s, actions initiated by civil rights organizations were endorsed and built by many others, including the unions, without loss of identity. Odessa Komer, head of the UAW Women's Commission, agreed, noting that the UAW sent a delegation of demonstrators to

Springfield last year to back the ERA.

Lillian Stoner, the delegate from the National Education Association, also urged support to May 16. At its human rights conference two weeks before, the NEA had endorsed the action. Stoner explained that the women's movement has often been branded as a "white, elitist" movement, and union women need to help cut across that myth by participating in actions such as May 16.

In the final session of the NEB meeting, both the general resolution on the ERA originally proposed and a resolution presented by Liz McPike endorsing May 16 were passed.

Twenty-four delegates voted in favor of the May 16 resolution and less than a dozen opposed it. A few women did not vote.

In other business at the NEB meeting, a new CLUW chapter was chartered in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The national treasurer, Gloria Johnson of the International Union of Electrical Workers, announced that more than 1,250 women have reregistered as CLUW members since the end of January.

Some steps were also taken to make it easier for CLUW chapters to be rechartered and to make more widely available the names and addresses of NEB members.

In a serious attack on democracy in CLUW, however, a vicious red-baiting article by Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), a John Birch Society member, was distributed to delegates by the meeting's organizers. The article attacks the Maoist October League for its participation in CLUW and other labor organizations.

One delegate protested the distribution of such antilabor material. Madar, however, tried to justify its use, arguing that the article mentioned CLUW and was therefore reprinted simply for the information of the NEB.

However, the effect of this McDonald smear was to cast doubt on the right of supporters of the October League to belong to CLUW.

Such tactics, whether in CLUW or the unions as a whole, only aid the enemies of labor, such as McDonald. CLUW has always been open to all women in unions, regardless of their political views, and it must remain so.

The next meeting of the CLUW NEB will be Memorial Day weekend in San Francisco.



International Women's Day action in Los Angeles. Coalition of Labor Union Women resolution says: 'ERA is a working woman's issue. It is an issue of equal pay, increased job opportunities, and fair medical sick leave provisions.'

Socialist Campaign Week off to flying start

By Pat Galligan

As the *Militant* goes to press, the Socialist Campaign Week is in full swing. Reports on weekend activities in several cities are already in.

More than 200 *Militants* were sold on Saturday, March 13, alone by socialists in the Boston area.

Saturday was open-house day at the new storefront headquarters of the Roxbury Socialist Workers party. Fifteen of the sixty *Militants* sold in Roxbury that day were sold to neighbors in the building on Columbus Avenue where the headquarters is located.

Response to the March 19 *Militant's* headline ("March on Boston! Black leaders call April 24 national action to defend busing") was typified by the remark of one Black high school student: "I'll take one of those," he said. "It's about time someone called a demonstration."

Socialists in Pittsburgh are publicizing a March 24 community meeting for Willie Mae Reid in the Black neighborhood of Homewood-Brushton.

On Saturday, several canvassing teams did door-to-door leafleting for the Reid meeting, distributing copies of the SWP platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," and selling the *Militant*. They received a warm response.

One man greeted Martha Harris at his door: "Oh, the 'Bill of Rights,' I've seen that. Come on in."

He then pulled a tattered copy from an end-table drawer and continued: "And it is good." He signed up for a *Militant* subscription.

In all, eighty-three single copies and fifteen subscriptions were sold in Homewood-Brushton during the weekend.

Rain didn't dampen the spirits of campaigners in Portland, Oregon. Supporters of Socialist Workers mayoral candidate George Kontanis distributed 1,500 pieces of campaign literature. They also sold ninety *Militants* and fourteen subscriptions through both street campaigning and door-to-door work.

Eight subscriptions were sold by street canvassers—some of these on Monday morning at the unemployment office. SWP organizer Stacey Seigle explains: "We tell people about the *Militant's* introductory subscription offer before we ask them to buy a single copy."

Portland street campaigners carry clipboards to make it easier to sign up subscribers.

Newark's sales total was up to 190 when we talked to Helen Schiff, the branch organizer there.

Schiff tells us that two *Militant* features attracted considerable interest—the interview with Socialist Workers congressional candidate Larry Stewart and Baxter Smith's assessment of Black Democrats, including Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson.

As of Monday evening, more than 800 *Militants* had been sold by members of the six SWP branches in New York.

Taking sales honors for the weekend is the Downtown Brooklyn branch.

Lynn Rashkind, who coordinates

sales for the branch, reports that 246 *Militants* were sold. That's just 4 shy of their 250 goal for the entire week. They also signed up fourteen new subscribers.

Campaign teams visited four housing complexes in Brooklyn's Fourteenth District, where Pat Wright is running for Congress on the Socialist Workers party ticket. These teams sold 180 *Militants* and twelve subscriptions and gathered many names for the campaign mailing list.

At the Bushwick housing project in Williamsburg—a new canvassing spot—one team sold seventy-six *Militants* and nine subscriptions.

Salespeople in Brooklyn also found much interest in the announcement of the April 24 national march on Boston.

"One woman who bought a *Militant* immediately marked the date on her calendar," said Rashkind. "She plans to go."

Next week, we'll print a full report on the Socialist Campaign Week, including a sales scoreboard and a tally of the subscriptions obtained.

How CIO conquered auto, steel



Battles of 1937: Flint sit-down strikers; Chicago massacre of striking steelworkers

By Andy Rose

(Second of a series)

Unions are so much a part of the industrial scene in this country nowadays that it is hard for many of us to imagine the time when the auto plants and steel mills were unorganized. Yet forty years ago these were the open-shop citadels of American capitalism.

In 1936 the average auto worker made less than twenty-five dollars a week. Assembly lines were speeded up literally to the point that workers dropped dead from exhaustion.

Company spies were everywhere, and company goon squads enforced a reign of terror in the plants. You could be beaten up and booted out for uttering a word about unions.

Last week's *Militant* recounted the strike battles of 1934 that inspired the American working class in the depths of the Great Depression. These victories gave the necessary shove to a minority of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, led by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, to make a clean break with the craft-union policies of the AFL and launch the Committee for Industrial Organization.

This week we will look at the historic strikes in 1936 and 1937 that established the CIO in basic industry.

Because of the close ties between the coal and steel industries, Lewis put top priority on the organizing drive in steel. He raised a war chest of \$700,000 and sent hundreds of organizers into the steel areas.

Right from the start, however, the leaders and policies in the steel union

were imposed from the top down.

Phillip Murray, a top aide to Lewis in the UMW, was appointed head of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC.) Murray ruled with the same dictatorial methods used by Lewis himself in the UMW. It was not until 1942 that the steelworkers were allowed to hold their own constitutional convention and elect officers. By that time Murray was confident that his bureaucratic machine had an iron grip on the union.

The other key CIO union, the United Auto Workers, developed in a different way. Arising directly from the struggles of the rank and file (originally under AFL charter), it was the closest thing in the CIO to a membership-controlled union.

Founding of UAW

The militant auto workers from Toledo—veterans of the 1934 Auto-Lite strike and, in 1935, the first successful local strike against General Motors—played a big role. Throughout the early years, many of the key local leaders and organizers were socialists.

At the union's founding convention in August 1935, the Toledo militants proposed a program that included:

- A national campaign to "organize all unorganized automobile workers this fall."
- Against compulsory arbitration, against no-strike deals, and "no trust in governmental boards and agencies."
- Democratic rank-and-file control over the new union.
- All officers to be subject to immediate recall by the members, and to be

paid no more than workers in the plant.

At their next convention, in April-May 1936, the auto workers beat back a move by the AFL-imposed president, Francis Dillon, to keep out the Toledo delegation. Then they ousted Dillon and elected their own president.

They unanimously adopted a call for formation of an independent political party of labor. Only a personal appeal from John L. Lewis secured passage of a last-minute amendment to support Roosevelt in the upcoming election.

The convention also rejected a resolution to bar "communists." It opened its doors to all auto workers regardless of race, religion, or political affiliation.

Sit-down at General Motors

These were the workers who, in the winter of 1936-37, broke the back of the open shop in basic industry.

The greatest strike in the rise of the CIO began without benefit of an official strike call. It was launched by the workers in the plants, on their own initiative.

It started when 7,000 workers at the General Motors Fisher Body plant in Cleveland struck on December 28, 1936. They were fed up with GM's stalling tactics. Two days later, the heart of GM's empire—the giant assembly plants in Flint, Michigan—was paralyzed by the strike. This is where the war would be won or lost.

The weapon the auto workers used to defeat the corporate might of GM was spectacular in its simplicity and revolutionary in its implications:

They sat down.

The sit-down strike, which achieved prominence throughout the world during the labor upsurges of the 1930s, effectively neutralized all accepted strikebreaking practices.

Rather than marching outside the plant to stop scabs from going in—with the scabs very likely backed up by superior military force—the workers simply stopped production and stayed put.

Before scabs can be used against a sit-down strike, the police must go in and evict the peaceful strikers. If they try to do so, not only does the onus for initiating violence clearly fall on the cops, but the company's valuable machinery is liable to suffer damage in the process.

The tactic is so effective that only 25 of the more than 1,000 sit-downs recorded in 1936-37 were broken by police.

Who's running this plant?

"The real issue in the controversy," declared the president of GM, "is will a labor organization run the plants of the General Motors Corporation or will the management continue to do so?"

He was right. Even though the GM strike was fought for the simple demand of union recognition, the sit-down challenged the sanctity of the capitalists' property. It raised the notion that the workers might oust the private owners altogether and organize production under their own control.

Neither the AFL nor the CIO officialdom liked this anticapitalist logic. Nor did they like the way the sit-down accented the power and solidarity of the rank and file. But while AFL President William Green openly condemned the sit-downers, John L. Lewis was willing to go along once the auto workers had launched the battle.

Art Preis, himself an organizer and leader of the Toledo auto strikes, describes in his book *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO* the one and only attempt during the GM strike to recapture a plant by force. It came on January 12, 1937.

"The company had shut off the heat that afternoon in an attempt to freeze out the sit-downers in Fisher Body Plant No. 2. Several hours later the Flint police announced there would be no more food allowed to enter the plant for the strikers. The cops blocked off the entrance and then knocked down a ladder to a window through which

supplies were being shipped. . . .

"A body of pickets finally stormed the entrance, forcing the police aside and carrying coffee and bread in to the sit-downers. Around 9 P.M., half of Flint's police force suddenly fell with clubs on the pickets at the entrance. Some were scattered, others were driven into the plant.

"Tear gas was fired into the plant. Police sent volleys of buckshot through the windows. The strikers fought back with everything from hurled nuts and bolts to soda pop bottles. A three-hour battle ensued. During the course of the struggle the strikers captured the sheriff's car and three police cruisers.

"When the police reformed ranks at midnight to make a new attack, the strikers brought into play their 'secret weapon'—a plant fire hose that soaked the police with freezing water and finally drove them back to the other side of a bridge leading to the plant gates. Twenty-four strikers had been injured; 14 had gunshot wounds."

Roosevelt's treachery

As the siege of the plants was tightened, Lewis tried to collect what he thought the CIO was owed for the more than one million dollars it had given Roosevelt in the election only months earlier. Lewis publicly appealed to the president for support.

Roosevelt turned him down cold. "Of course I think in the interests of peace that there come moments when statements, conversations, and headlines are not in order," he said.

Lewis later told his biographer, Saul Alinsky, "It was during the winter of 1937 when we were gripped in fatal conflict with the corporation of General Motors that I discovered the depths of deceit, the rank dishonesty and the doublecrossing character of Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Roosevelt's secretary of labor, Frances Perkins, publicly proposed that the strikers leave the plants "as an expression by the union of good faith in General Motors"—before negotiations would begin!

At the most critical point of the strike, Roosevelt telephoned Lewis in Detroit and offered a one-month contract if the plants were returned.

Lewis replied, "Mr. President, my people tell me it's got to be six months. One month is not satisfactory."

Roosevelt raised the offer to two, and then three, months. But Lewis wouldn't budge. And neither would the Flint sit-downers.

After forty-four days, GM finally cracked. And with that, the cry of "sit-down!" echoed from coast to coast, and the giants of American industry trembled.

Steel: victory and defeat

When the Flint strike ended in victory, Lewis was already engaged in secret negotiations with executives of the biggest steel company, U.S. Steel. Shaken by GM's defeat, the U.S. Steel barons broke down and signed with the SWOC. Within three months 75 percent of the steel industry was under union contract.

"There was a negative side to this

Continued on page 26

Further reading on—

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$3.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$2.45

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$2.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$2.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

... profits vs. safety in the mines

Continued from back page

miner said. "Yes, I'll tell you. This bunch sent my brother into a hot mine and got him killed. That's exactly what. They knew this mine was hot. They knew it before it blew out Tuesday, and they knew it would blow again. And it's illegal as hell, it's always been an illegal mine. I know, I've worked there."

'Stands tall'

Yet according to Herschel Potter, chief of the safety division for the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA), Scotia "stands tall in the industry" because of its good safety record.

Its almost spotless record, Potter explained, included only one fatal accident last year, six disabling injury accidents, and five nonfatal lost-time accidents!

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee later revealed that Scotia's safety records also indicate 1,250 citations for serious violations since 1970. It has been assessed \$164,335 in penalties since the 1969 law went into effect. But it has paid only \$49,978.

About five minutes before the first explosion, a foreman called for fresh air. That meant something was amiss in the ventilation system.

Under a United Mine Workers of America contract, that foreman could have walked his men out of the mine until the ventilation was restored. This is one of the safety provisions fought for and won in the 1974 UMWA strike.

At Scotia, a foreman who did that "would be out of a job," a retired miner told the *Militant*. And so the men stayed.

One theory of "what happened" that has received scant attention appeared in the March 14 Johnson City *Press-Chronicle*. It was a report of conversations by the miners and their families as they waited at the mine entrance for news of what would happen to the eleven bodies still entombed in the mine.

About the first explosion, one miner related, "Johnny Hackworth said that they were shunting air from one level to another to get the oxygen level up so that the inspectors would pass the mine. Johnny said that then one of the men in the area near the blast called down and said that they needed oxygen—that the air was getting bad.

"What Johnny said he figured happened was that someone sealed off the section of the mine where the blast occurred and shunted the air to the area where the inspectors were, and then forgot to open the vent after the inspectors left, and the methane level got too high in the area of the supply track, and anything could have set it off."

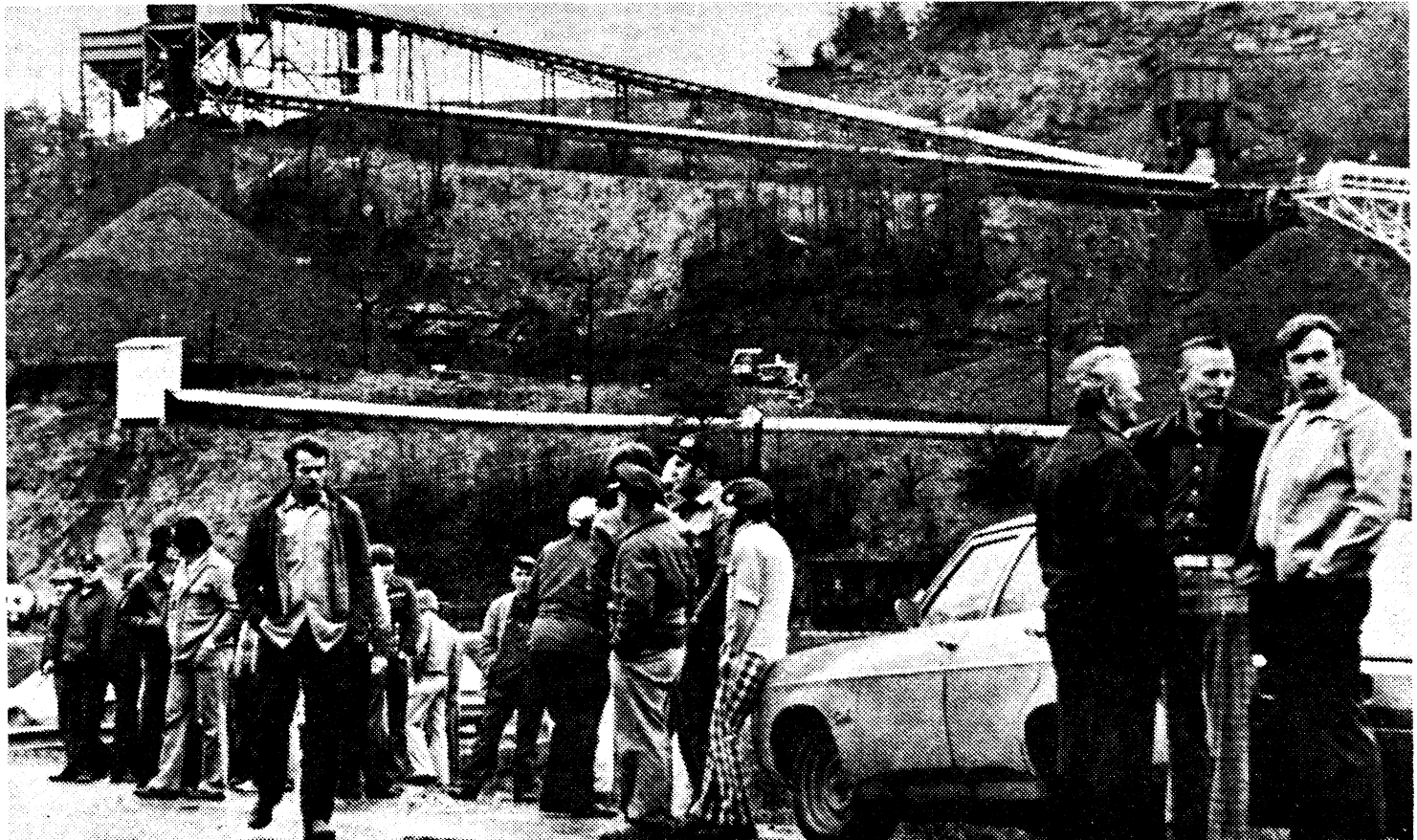
Johnny Hackworth can't tell that to investigators because he survived the first blast only to be killed in the second.

Mine sealed

The lower mine has now been ordered sealed for two to three months. Meanwhile, the approximately 225 miners who worked that seam are out of a job.

"Two years ago, one of the union mine inspectors told me that Scotia Number One was ten years overdue at that time for something like this," said an older miner. "That was when I left Scotia. I have mined coal all my life, and I intend to mine coal for the rest of my life, but I will quit tomorrow before I would go back down into one of Scotia's mines."

But there's not much else you can do in Letcher County, Kentucky. Mining is the only industry, and if you want a decent-paying job, you've got to work for the coal companies. Scotia offers



Waiting outside Scotia mine. 'They knew it would blow again. It's illegal as hell, it's always been an illegal mine,' said a miner whose brother was killed.

more in flat wages than do the union mines in order to keep the UMWA out.

Young men sometimes leave to look for jobs in Detroit or other industrial cities, a resident told the *Militant*. But unemployment forces them back to the Kentucky mines. Scotia, he said, is a "training ground" for the couple of union mines in the area.

Scotia miners are young, and the turnover great. With a little experience under their belts, they try for jobs, when they are available, at the safer, unionized Bethlehem Steel and U.S. Steel mines.

The ages of those killed would seem to bear this out. Of the twenty-three miners, fifteen were in their twenties.

Scotia is owned by a parent firm, the Blue Diamond Coal Company, headquartered in Knoxville, Tennessee. Blue Diamond produces about 2.3 million tons of coal a year in Kentucky. In addition, it operates six mines in Tennessee, and recently acquired another one. It has become one of the country's big-time coal producers.

It is also notoriously antiunion, one of the "last holdouts," according to the UMWA.

1965 UMWA election

In November 1965, the UMWA won a union representation election at Scotia by a two-to-one vote. But the company forced the miners out on a bitter, three-month strike. It broke the nascent union.

Now the miners are represented by the Scotia Employees Association, which offers families of the dead miners burial costs as the sole benefit for their years of dues-paying. The miners still living have yet to see any advantages from their "union."

A major factor in the 1966 defeat was the corruption and ineffective leadership of the W.A. "Tony" Boyle regime in the UMWA at the time, recalled a retired miner who was once a UMWA organizer in the area. The union failed to support the strikers financially or otherwise. Blue Diamond, with a "keg of money behind it," beat the strikers down through court injunctions and attrition.

'Slow, steady slaughter'

Politicians have scrambled to offer their condolences and urge investigations. "When the glare of public attention fades from the Scotia disaster, the slow, steady slaughter of coal miners in ones and twos every day will go on," said UMWA President Arnold Miller.

MESA, the Department of the Inter-

or, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and the Kentucky Department of Mines and Minerals have all launched investigations into the disaster. On the day of the second killer blast, the Kentucky House of Representatives approved a law to upgrade the state's mine safety standards. "Even if the bill is to raise the cost of mining coal, if it saves one man's life, it will be worth it," proclaimed its sponsor.

Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll was somewhat more honest when he said the bill probably wouldn't have saved the twenty-six lives, since it only brings some state regulations up to the stricter federal ones, which were supposedly in effect at the mine.

And the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* matter-of-factly stated, "Changes in laws pertaining to mine safety have historically followed disaster such as the ones of last week."

But the disasters continue. As Harvey Sturgill, whose father was killed in the second explosion, said, "A law is words on a piece of paper until it's enforced."

Less than a week before the first explosion, President Ford pounced

upon the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for being "too tough" on businesses—businesses that maim, infect, and kill their workers.

"I will not tolerate the unnecessary and unjustified harassment of citizens," Ford promised a group of businessmen.

That is the real attitude of the people who run this country. Enforcing safety regulations is "unnecessary and unjustified" when they threaten the profits and authority of capitalists.

There's only one way to enforce those laws, says the retired miner interviewed by the *Militant*, and that's to hand out some jail terms instead of measly fines. "The higher up the ladder, the more responsibility, and there should be mandatory sentences for those responsible for these deaths.

"If after that first explosion they had taken a helicopter up to the mine superintendent and said, 'Come on, you go down into the mine.' And then, if they had taken another helicopter up to Knoxville and said to the chairman of the board of Blue Diamond, 'You come on down, too.' Then there wouldn't have been a second explosion."

... Harvey Sturgill

Continued from back page

properly encased. When it kicks on, it can produce a spark, and this should be encased for a gassy mine like Scotia.

Now the question is, were my dad and the other men who went in warned about this machine sitting in there? I was there when Mr. Jones called my dad and asked if he would consider helping out so the federal man could go in and conduct an investigation. So my dad said, fine.

He assured my dad there was no possible chance for another explosion at that point.

I have talked to one of the two who escaped, and I have reason to believe that they were not informed that the piece of machinery was sitting up there at the head of that section. And if they weren't and if the Scotia officials knew that this machine was sitting up there, capable of causing another explosion—if they sent the men without warning, I plan to bring charges against the mine for manslaughter.

In my opinion, they murdered my father.

Q. There are all these laws—Congress has passed laws, the states have passed laws on mine safety. Have they made any difference?

A. A law is words on a piece of paper until it's enforced. And if you can't get the various officials to enforce these laws, what does it amount to except words on a piece of paper?

Q. What do you think ought to be done to end all these safety violations and make the mine a safe place for the miners to work? Do you think the government has to do something, and if so, what?

A. I don't have a lot of faith in government agencies. If you have a federal committee go in there to do an investigation separate from MESA [Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration] then maybe they might require a little higher payoff than those who are doing it now.

But would it do any good? It seems that it's a matter of getting people who are really concerned to do something.

Calendar

ATLANTA

THE CITY CRISIS: SUPPORT PUBLIC EMPLOYEES. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BROOKLYN: DOWNTOWN

DO WOMEN NEED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT? A debate between Meg Katz, head of NYC STOP ERA, and Dianne Feeley, author of *Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment*. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO: SOUTH SIDE

THE MEANING OF THE PRIMARIES: WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK POLITICAL POWER? Speakers: Frances Ward, *Los Angeles Times* Midwest correspondent; E. Duke McNeil, attorney, former mayoral candidate; Russell Meek, radio broadcaster; Peggy Smith Martin, former state representative, candidate for state representative; Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. Fri., March 26, 7:30 p.m. St. Paul and the Redeemer Church, 4945 S. Dorchester. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 643-5520 or 752-8578.

EAST LOS ANGELES

GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS. Kicking off campaign of Virginia Garza for Congress. Sun., March 28. Open house, 2 p.m.; program 4 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

HOUSTON

SOCIALISM: WHAT IT IS. A weekly discussion series about socialism. *Socialism in America?* Sat., March 27, 3 p.m. Castellan Room, University Center, U. of Houston. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW DISTRICT

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. A weekly class series. *Economic Depression.* Sun., March 21, 4 p.m. *Achieving Women's Liberation.* Sun., March 28, 4 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

REPORT FROM CINCINNATI: AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION. Speaker: Sam Manuel, member of SWP National Committee. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MILWAUKEE

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Weekly class series. *A new stage: workers begin to*

radicalize as a class. Sat., March 27, 2 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St., Room 25. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Sat., March 27. Buffet, 6 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 1800 Jefferson Ave. Donation: buffet and rally—\$3; rally only—\$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN MEETING. Featuring Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Wed., March 24, 7:30 p.m. Reizenstein School, 129 Denniston (corner of Penn Ave.). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. A weekly discussion of socialism. *Why we need socialism.* Sat., March 27, 3 p.m. 416 Oakland Ave., Apt. 3F. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

PORTLAND

DEFEND LOUDHAWK AND REDNER. Speakers: Kenneth Loudhawk, Russell Redner. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark St., Room 501. Donation: \$1. Proceeds to Loudhawk/Redner Defense Committee. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

QUEENS

EXPOSED IN ARGENTINA: GOVERNMENT BEHIND RIGHT-WING TERROR. Speakers: Petty Fierro, USLA; representative of Movimiento Anti-imperialista por el Socialismo en Argentina; and representative from Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (corner of Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

CAMPAIGN STREET RALLY IN CAMBRIA HEIGHTS. Speakers: Keith Jones, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 7th C.D., Queens; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., March 27, 1 p.m. Call for exact location. Party—8 p.m. 90-10 149th St., Apt. 2C (near Jamaica Ave.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Queens Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

ST. LOUIS

FREE GERALD GARRETT. Speakers: Helen Black, mother of Gerald Garrett; Shirley Smith, Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA. A critique by Harry Ring, *Militant* Southwest Bureau. Three classes. Fri., March 26, 8 p.m.; Sat., March 27, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. A weekly discussion of socialism. *Revolutionary socialists in the U.S.* Sat., March 27, 3 p.m.; Wed., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

...debate

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of Cuba and beyond “were supported and encouraged and directed by both Republican and Democratic administrations and by Republicans and Democrats in Congress.”

“That makes me a socialist,” Stapleton told the audience, “and I would hope that it does the same for you.”

A Black student asked Colby to comment on recently reported evidence of CIA activities at Cornell in 1969 aimed at disrupting a Black student struggle here.

“I frankly am not informed of the specifics of this incident,” Colby said. “. . . I agree that it should not take place. I’m right with you. . . .”

“But it does!” Stapleton said.

“. . . The so-called intelligence community as a whole . . . is continuing to carry out the practices that it did in the past. Mr. Colby is trying to respond to criticisms that have been made of it. I think that the problem is not to defend the intelligence community but to abolish it.”

Later in the program Stapleton pointed out that “as long as these agencies are able to operate in secrecy, we’ll never find out about the illegal programs that they do carry out. Public access to the files and records of these agencies is the only guarantee that they aren’t going to take further steps to cut across our political freedoms.”

...CIO

Continued from page 24

development,” Art Preis notes. “The gains of the steelworkers appeared to come from the top. The steelworkers themselves did not have to go through a great struggle to get them and the

CIO leadership, the SWOC leaders in particular, never made any attempt to impress on the steelworkers their immense debt to the GM sit-downers.”

The test of the SWOC leadership came when five competitors of U.S. Steel—known collectively as Little Steel—decided to hold the line against the union. All negotiations failed, and in spring 1937 the SWOC leaders had no choice but to call a strike.

In the bloody battles that followed, the steelworkers displayed courage and heroism second to none. Eighteen were killed, scores wounded, and hundreds arrested.

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, “New Deal” Democratic officials, often elected with CIO support, sent cops, state troopers, and the National Guard to arrest strikers, bust up picket lines, and escort scabs into the mills.

In the infamous Memorial Day Massacre, Chicago police opened fire on a peaceful union parade outside the struck Republic Steel plant. Ten workers were shot dead. Every one of them was shot in the back.

Again Lewis pleaded for Roosevelt’s aid. Again Roosevelt spurned the CIO leaders. Pretending to stand above the conflict, he quoted Shakespeare: “A plague on both your houses!”

The strike was broken. The workers in Little Steel were forced back without a contract.

Art Preis writes of the outcome: “Later the story was to be circulated that the Little Steel strike had been a ‘mistake,’ that Murray had been induced to call the strike because of ‘misleading’ and ‘over-enthusiastic’ reports from local organizers and leaders in the Little Steel areas.

“The strike was lost only because of ‘misleading’ and ‘over-enthusiastic’ belief in Roosevelt and other Democratic capitalist ‘friends of labor.’

“Had the SWOC leaders prepared the workers for a real battle, with dependence only on their own organized strength, there would have been a different story to tell, as the Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Flint strikes had already proved.”

(Next week: *Myth versus fact about the “New Deal.”*)

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

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Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSB, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

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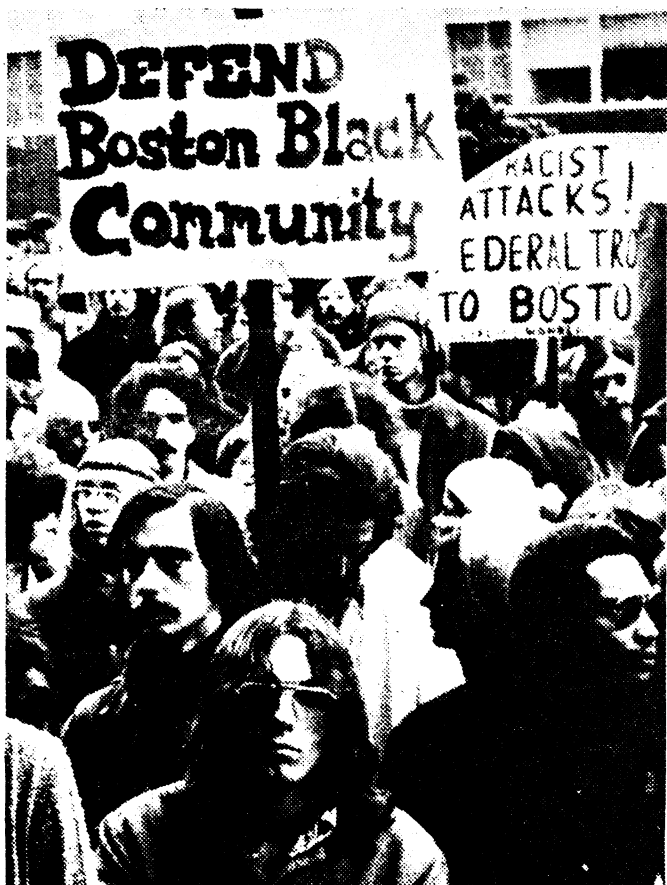
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Roy Medvedev is the author of *Let History Judge* (Macmillan, 1972), a comprehensive history of the Stalin era. This distinguished historian stands out among the intellectual opposition by being an avowed Marxist and a staunch Communist who aspires to revive the program of Lenin in the struggle for a socialist democracy. He seeks to democratize the Soviet Communist Party through initiatives "from above" (by the party and government), supported "from below" (by the masses), through constitutional means. His initiating and concluding essays set the framework for the other contributors to this international symposium: Yvan Craipeau, Tamara Deutsch, Ernest Mandel, Franz Marek, Mihailo Markovic, Ralph Miliband, George Novack, Michel Pablo, Roger Pannequin, Jiri Pelikan, and E.P. Thompson.

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THE MILITANT

PROFITS VS. SAFETY

DEATH IN THE MINES

By Nancy Cole

OVEN FORK, Ky.—The greed of the coal profiteers has claimed the lives of twenty-six men from this cluster of small communities in southeastern Kentucky.

On March 9, one day after a federal inspector cited the Scotia Coal Company for three explosion-related safety violations, a blast killed fifteen miners.

Two days later, a team of miners accompanying federal inspectors met a similar fate. Eight miners and three inspectors died in that explosion.

It is the worst mine disaster in the United States since a 1970 explosion killed thirty-eight men in nearby

For editorial on mine disaster, see page 10.

Hyden, Kentucky. In this sparsely populated area, there is hardly a person that the tragedy hasn't touched through the loss of a father, brother, husband, cousin, or friend.

The number of lives lost has focused national attention on the conditions at Scotia. But to the nearly 500 employees of the mine, its dangers were never secret.

With nothing but a company union to speak for them, Scotia miners have long realized that they risk their lives every day they enter the mine. In the past nine years, there have been eight other fatalities at Scotia.

The lowest of the three seams of coal in the Scotia mine, where both explosions occurred, is well known as one of the more gassy or "hot" mines in Eastern Kentucky.

The odorless gas methane is freed from coal when it is mined. When there is moisture in the soil, as is the case in deep mines, the gas is trapped. Left to accumulate, it can explode with the



Friends and relatives of trapped miners await word on their fate

slightest spark or friction.

Mine operators are required by law to have adequate ventilation systems to suck out the gassy air and replace it with fresh, and to make frequent checks on the air quality.

As with most safety requirements, the mine operators abide by the law only to the extent they are forced to. And in nonunion mines, enforcement is nearly nonexistent.

Since the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act was passed in 1969, more than 1,000 miners have died in work-

related accidents. Of the 185,000 miners in the United States, one is killed on the average every other working day.

It's just not as profitable to run safe mines as unsafe ones.

"We are seeing here the same sad, familiar story we've seen at Blacksville and Farmington and Hyden—outright violations of the mine safety law and inadequate enforcement by federal officials," said United Mine Workers of America President Arnold Miller in a March 11 statement.

The federal inspection of the Scotia mine the day before the first explosion found two ventilation violations and one coal-dust sprinkler violation. The two ventilation problems were quickly fixed, federal records claim, while the sprinkler violation was not. The mine, of course, continued to operate.

Company and federal officials refused to speculate about what caused either explosion. But the miners and their families already know:

"I'll tell you what's happened," one
Continued on page 25

'They murdered my father'

By Ed Heisler

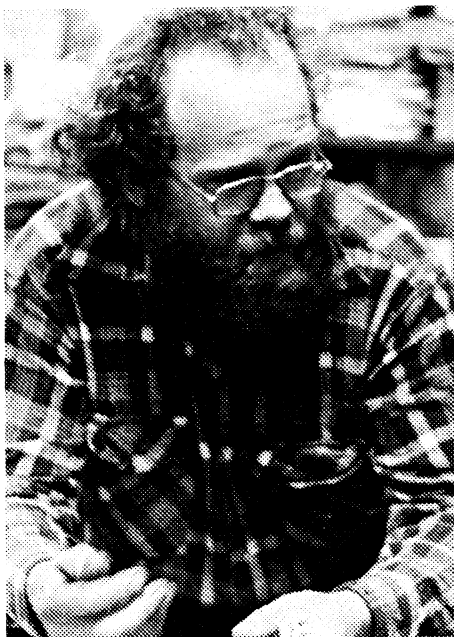
[Following is an interview with twenty-seven-year-old Harvey Sturgill of Eolia, Kentucky. Sturgill's father, James Sturgill, was one of the eleven men killed March 11 in the second explosion at the Scotia Coal Company mine.]

Question. Could you talk a little about the safety conditions at the mine

Ed Heisler is a chairperson of the Socialist Workers' National Campaign Committee, which is backing Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid for U.S. president and vice-president.

where your father worked; and the enforcement of safety laws?

Answer. Whenever a government official comes there for an inspection, the mine always knows beforehand—the officials of the mine—and they



Militant/Nancy Cole
Harvey Sturgill. His father, James Sturgill, died in second explosion at Scotia Coal Company mine.

are informed what section the man will be in. A crew is sent in to dress the section up, so that when the federal man walks in with his various gauges, he gets a fair gas reading, good air.

Should he walk 2,000 feet away, he might find half as much air and traces of carbon monoxide or methane in the air. Somehow these people [mine operators] are finding out, and it has to be through the government offices.

Q. How long did your father work in the mine?

A. Well, he was there for a little over three years. During his youth he worked about ten years in the mines, from the time he was about fifteen to twenty-five. Then he moved away and for twenty years he lived in Illinois, working as a photographer there.

Then after my sister and I had both left home, he and my mom moved back down to this area where the old home place was—where his family and a lot

of friends were. He had a couple of jobs, but the job at Scotia came up, and so he took it. It's good pay, and the type of work he was doing wasn't all that hard.

Q. What do you think is responsible for this tragedy?

A. When I was waiting for news of my dad up at the mine, I was talking with a gentleman who is with the International Harvester rescue team. They were the first team to get to the mine after the accident.

We were just sitting there talking—he didn't know who I was—and I asked if he had any idea what caused the explosion.

He told me about a briefing they had when the team first got there. They told them about this motor in the mine with a compressor. This compressor is a nonpermissible piece of equipment for that type of mine because it's not

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